CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

SENATE-Friday, July 27, 1984

(Legislative day of Monday, July 23, 1984)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President protempore [Mr. Thurmond].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

All glory and honor and praise to Thee, O God.

Loving Father in Heaven, we thank Thee for life's common blessings. Help us never to take them for granted as though we deserved them more than those who are deprived. We thank Thee for families, homes, friends, good neighbors, and a place of privilege in which to labor. We thank Thee for good food, pure water which we enjoyed yesterday, will enjoy today, and have the prospect of enjoying in our tomorrows. We thank Thee for health and strength, for good minds and sound bodies. May we who always have more than enough of everything remember with compassion those who never have enough of anything.

We pray for the oppressed, the persecuted—for those who are displaced, hungry, and homeless—for children who suffer the tragic effects of malnutrition and their parents who suffer helplessly with them. We remember the unemployed and those experiencing futility. Grant O God, that we who are free from such inhuman indignities may respond in love to those who hurt.

In Jesus' name. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, today, after the two leaders and the special order, there will be a brief period for the transaction of routine morning business, and then we will be back on the pending business, which is the Hoover Dam bill, and the pending question will be the Metzenbaum amendment No. 3419.

Cloture has been filed on the motion to concur in the House amendments. That motion will ripen into a vote on Monday, 1 hour after a quorum is established, 1 hour after we convene, unless we change that time. I have not yet talked to the minority leader about establishing a time that may be more suitable, but I will do that and attempt to set that time on Monday if we do that by noon today.

Mr. President, I do not expect today to be a long day. I do not expect us to finish the Hoover Dam bill either. I wish to, but I do not imagine we will.

We might be able to get to MilCon, the military construction bill, but that was less than probable last evening when the Senate recessed, but for the sake of optimism, let me include that on the list of things we might do.

Beyond that, Mr. President, the leadership on this side will examine the list of available items and see what we can clear to do.

But I would not expect this to be a long day.

SENATOR SPECTER RECEIVES GOLDEN GAVEL AWARD

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, at approximately 4:30 p.m., Thursday, July 26, Senator Specter accumulated 100 hours of Chair duty, making him the second recipient of the Golden Gavel Award during the 98th Congress. Senator Specter established this record by consistently presiding over the Senate for 2 to 3 hours every week without fail.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. GOLDWATER]. Under the previous order, the Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time reserved for the minority leader be set aside for his use later in the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR PROXMIRE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

WHY A "STAR WARS" PROGRAM IS MORE LIKELY TO BRING NUCLEAR WAR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this is the fourth in my series of replies to Gen. Daniel Graham's seven argu-

ments designed to rebut criticism of the Strategic Defense Initiative or Star Wars. General Graham has framed each of his arguments as a rebuttal to what he regards as the principal objections to the antimissile system. This Senator opposes the Star Wars program for a whole series of reasons. But I am willing to let General Graham select the arguments he considers most serious and answer the Graham rebuttal. General Graham's fourth response was that the critics of the antimissile system called it "provocative and destabilizing."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the fourth part of General Graham's defense of the antimissile system be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT IS "PROVOCATIVE AND DESTABILIZING"

Answer. This is the same old tired argument that was central to the adoption of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) theory in the early 1960's. That theory mandates the vulnerability of populations to nuclear destruction as a positive good. As John Newhouse, supporter and chronicler of MAD put it: "Killing people is good; killing weapons is bad."

To the MADmen, then and now, defending our people is provocative because it would reduce the terribleness of Soviet vengeance if we ever struck them with nuclear weapons, and the sheer terror of it all is their formula for peace!

In conformance with the MAD theory, we have not only dismantled such defenses as we once had, we have failed to apply available technology to the problem of defending ourselves.

If attention to defense of the civil population is indeed "provocative and destabilizing", those who believe so should be greatly provoked by the Soviet Union which has spared no effort to defend its population against nuclear attack.

Massive and constantly upgraded active defense systems exist in the USSR along with a huge Civil Defense program. In fact, the USSR has over the years since we adopted MAD, spent one ruble on strategic defense for every ruble on strategic offense. Part of this has been spent in patent violation of the ABM Treaty.

Small wonder. The Soviets have shown a strong contempt for the mandated vulnerability aspects of the MAD theory from its inception, calling it "bourgeois naivete." Somehow it seems that for the United States to defend its population is provocative; for the Soviets to do so is not.

To argue that strategic defense is destabilizing requires an assumption that today's balance-of-terror is "stable". It is obviously not. Today we move ever closer to a "hair-trigger" launch-on-warning posture wherein accidental launch of a few missiles, a false

signal in communication systems, or erroneous intelligence could set off a catastrophic war. High Frontier will move us away from the instability of MAD toward the stability of Mutual Assured Survival.

To argue that defenses are provocative is to argue that building a castle wall is more provocative than amassing cannon. It makes no sense to logical men and women.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Now how about it? Would a defensive missile system be provocative? Would it make nuclear war more likely or less likely? The answer, of course, depends upon your assumptions. If you assume that a defensive missile system will evoke no change from the other side, if you assume the adversary will simply and quietly accept the technological advantage that will nullify their deterrent, destroy the capability they have built up to retaliate effectively for any attack on their country, then "Star Wars" would not be provocative or dewould not be provocative or destabilizing. But does any informed and sane person really believe that the Russians would accept such an effective abolition of their superpower status? Would we?

Look at it from our standpoint. Would we quietly accept such a Rus-

sian coup?

the Soviet Union were Suppose going all out with an antimissile system which we firmly believed would succeed in knocking out our capability to retaliate if they initiated a pre-emptive nuclear strike against this coun-Would we accept it? Of course not. No one who has ever occupied the White House, or in all likelihood ever will, would accept such a military coup by the Soviet Union or any other country. We would pour whatever technological and economic resources we needed to overcome such a decisive Soviet advantage. If we would race to win back our balance of military power, does anyone believe the Soviets would not do precisely the same thing. So if we go ahead with "Star Wars" what options will the Soviets have? They can race to do the same. Or they can concentrate primarily on building up their offensive missiles to overcome our budding antimissile defense.

Why would they be most likely to spend their economic and technological resources? Answer: wherever they could get the surest, cheapest, and quickest payoff. And on this one I would bet the old homestead against a confederate dollar they would beef up their offensive missiles. Why not? Our own Defense Department has testified that unless we can persuade the Soviets through arms control agreements to limit their offensive missiles they would be able to overwhelm any antimissile program by simply producing more offensive missiles. A greater number of Soviet offensive missiles alone would defeat "Star Wars," provided only they built enough and, of course, they could. For both the U.S.S.R. and the USA, nuclear weapons constitute a small fraction of total military cost. Both superpowers could easily increase their nuclear offensive power fivefold or tenfold if convinced that national survival depended on it. Of course, if the Soviets concentrated on technological improvements to assure the penetration by their offensive missiles they would have a second option for overcoming the antimissile system.

Third, they could try to build their own antimissile. This would almost certainly be far more costly.

But there is no reason why they could not pursue all three options simultaneously. Having started "Star Wars" and faced with the Russian offensive and perhaps defensive buildup too, how would we respond? This country would know the arms race had entered a new dimension on both fronts. I repeat both-not just the antimissile front but the missile and antimissile front both. The one sure consequence is that the nuclear arms race, having entered the new defensive and space dimension, would continue to escalate more swiftly than ever before. Would this be more or less likely to bring nuclear war? The answer is simple, and very clear.

Of course, such an accelerated arms race would bring a greater likelihood of nuclear war. Why? Because we would be entering an entirely new, unpredictable and uncertain phase of the arms competition. For more than 30 years-ever since both superpowers developed the capability to destroy each other we have lived through a period of uneasy peace between the world's two great powers. Why has a superpower war been avoided for more than 30 years? One dominant reason. Each side knew that if it used nuclear weapons against the other, it would suffer an absolutely certain devastation.

It has been clear for more than 30 years that the initiation of nuclear war by either superpower against the other would be an act of certain suicide. It has been a lead pipe cinch that both countries would perish. Maybe the same result, a standoff, would follow if both countries engage in a trillion-dollar antimissile arms race that would in turn greatly escalate the offensive missile arms race. Maybe peace would continue. Maybe but not certainly. It is that element of uncertainty—the possibility that the Soviet Union might under these circumstances achieve a sudden and decisive and temporary technological breakthrough advantage. Of course, if we achieved that kind of an advantage, I am convinced we would not use it and would not initiate a war. I certainly do not have the same confidence in the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Union. And that is what haunts this Senator.

This is why it is so imperative that we stop the nuclear arms race and stop it now with the most far reaching and comprehensive nuclear arms control measures we can verify. We have to be sure we can verify it and, of course, negotiate it so it is mutual.

LET'S NOT RERUN THE HOLOCAUST

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the National Archives, as part of the commemoration of its 50th anniversary, is showing a film series titled "Films for the 50th—A Documentary Retrospective." These films touch on important aspects of American culture and history over the last 50 years.

Appropriately, one of the recent films was a documentary on the Nazi concentration camps. Even though the atrocities at Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Dachau occurred in Europe, no one can deny that the Holocaust is also part of American history. The genocide that took place was morally an

international crime.

The documentary on the Nazi concentration camps, which is titled "Night and Fog," was a French film produced in 1955. From the first frames, showing peaceful landscapes seen from behind the barbed wire of a concentration camp, the viewer is struck by the tragedy of the Holocaust.

"Night and Fog" graphically portrays the horror of Hitler's final solution. It shields the audience from no painful aspect of the Holocaust. Children and old women in wheelchairs are seen herded like cattle into trains with no windows. Hundreds of unwilling passengers were packed in each car. They arrived at one of the many concentration camps, and the narrator reminds us that, "no one will enter more than once."

The archway over the entrance to the camp reads "Work is Freedom," but we soon see that the work expected is only freedom from death—and even then, only for as long as the prisoners can withstand the work.

"Night and Fog" goes on to hit you continuously with horrible images, facts, and figures. Again and again, the viewer is reminded of the immensity of this crime. One stark sequence shows page upon page of names from thick concentration camp registry books. The sheer number of victims is hard to imagine.

The film concludes with a thoughtprovoking statement: "There are those who pretend this happened once, at a certain time, in a certain place." Let me say that we all should realize that the people who think this are fooling themselves. From Carthage, through the Ottoman Turk's genocide of the Armenians, to the slaughter of Cambodians under the Pol Pot regime, genocide has not just occurred once. And there is no guarantee that it is not happening now and that it will not happen again. Nothing can guarantee that genocide will not occur again. That is why we must try our best to reduce the risk of genocide.

The ratification of the Genocide Convention by this Senate would be an important step. The horror captured on the film, "Night and Fog," should not be documented again, with different scenery, and new villains and victims.

Let us help assure that it is not. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to extend beyond the hour of 10:30 a.m. with statements therein limited to 5 minutes each.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. Gorton]. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, is morning business still in effect?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is still in morning business but the time for morning business is about to expire.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I would like to be briefly recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

THE SO-CALLED STAR WARS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I am glad the Senator from Wisconsin is back on the floor. I was occupying the chair when he had a brief discussion this morning on General Graham's continued comments about the so-called star wars.

This disturbs me, not the remarks, necessarily, of the Senator from Wisconsin, but the whole developing attitude in the House and the Senate in opposition to any research on our part relative to an ability to either intercept Russian satellites that need intercepting or to render useless by the use of electronic devices any satellite that might be doing us damage.

Mr. President, I happen to recall instances in history when the world has been faced with similar propositions and, I would say, equally as dangerous in their consideration at that time. I refer to the advent of gunpowder and great problems internationally; the coming of the tank in World War I, which was supposed to end land warfare; the advent of the aircraft in

World War I, further developed in World War II; the advent of bombing And against all of these weapons, counterweapons were developed. We continually move forward in our suggested theater of operations. When General Graham discusses the possibilities of war in space, I think we should pay attention to him and all the other people who see in space not only a potential for war but, even beyond that, a very great potential for peace. This is something I cannot discuss on the floor, but we are well along, in my humble opinion, in the development of equipment that can well herald the day of peace. I am not sure whether the Soviets have the same ideas or not, but I have a suspicion that they do.

What we are talking about really when we get into this research on the detection and the apprehension of satellites that we feel need that attention and apprehension is not catastrophic means such as many people think-nuclear arms. That is not included in the thinking of General Graham. For example, to render ineffective one satellite that is in space for the purpose of observation or the purpose of repeating messages from Earth for the detection of infrared would require 1 or 2 watts at the most of laser, which would not destroy the satellite; it would merely render it inoperative.

I think it is a rather sad commentary upon the state of the American mind when we want to limit the research that we have proposed in the development of our ability to take care of satellites that would prove to be disadvantageous to our future or even advantageous to the Soviets in the bringing of war. I recall the Senator from Wisconsin said, and I completely agree with him, that the possibility of nuclear war being started by either of the major powers is very, very remote. But I do believe, and believe very strongly, that we should be allowed to go ahead with the rather limited research which we have asked for-probably as many as 10 experiments a year. We now are limited to two. We have the factor of time that will limit a great number of them. But I hope that both the House and the Senate-and we are. I might say, discussing this very thoroughly in the conference on armed serviceswould come to an agreement that we could go ahead with the research which is necessary for us to be able to do as we have done in the past, develop antitank weapons, antiaircraft weapons, and so forth and so on.

I merely wanted to make those comments, and I am glad that the Senator was on the floor when I made them.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, are we in morning business now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are still in morning business.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I thank my good friend from Arizona

for his remarks. I think what he says is very prudent. I think we have to recognize the kind of costs we are talking about here. By far the biggest single increase in research and development in the armed services authorization was for this antimissile program. It went from about a billion dollars to about a billion and a half. The administration asked for a 70-percent increase. They tell us that it is going to be \$25 billion over the next 5 years, so it is a huge program, very, very costly. They tell us we will not know until 1992 whether an antimissile system would be practical. Then we will have spent \$50 billion in research and development, and according to Secretary DeLauer the cost will be, he says, staggering. If we look at what he tells us, the cost will be close to one-half trillion dollars.

So I am saying that the cost is very great. I say if we proceed in this defensive missile way, we are going to violate the ABM treaty at one time or another. It may or may not be a good thing to renounce, but it is something we have to recognize.

That means the Soviet Union is going to match what we have done. It will match us not only in defensive missiles but match us in offensive missiles. That means the arms race will step up, the costs will be tremendous, and the uncertainty on both sides will be greater. For that reason, I think the prospects of nuclear war may be greater than they are with the present kind of deterrence we have on both sides.

I am delighted that my good friend from Arizona has spoken up. He is far better versed than this Senator on these military matters. He served for years with great distinction on the Armed Services Committee. He is a real expert in this field, perhaps one of the only two or three experts in the Senate. So I have great faith in what the Senator has to say. But I think we should recognize that we may be moving in the direction of accelerating an arms race which will cost a great deal and will create an uncertainty that is worse than it is now, and perhaps bring nuclear war closer.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I could not agree more with the Senator relative to cost. I queried Dr. DeLauer at great length during one hearing, and at great length several times since, and I have to admit what the Senator has said. He does not know.

We want to do the experimentation that we are now engaged in at a relatively low price in order to be able to tell in a matter of a few years whether we should go ahead with it. I am not standing here saying that we should spend a trillion dollars for this, but the Soviets already have a pretty good ability in this intercept field. I think we have, too. But I would much prefer

to see the Congress take a hands-off position until we know a little bit more about the cost. And Dr. DeLauer will be the first one to say, "I don't know." He has told our committees that he does not know. But the only way we are going to find out is through research and development, and when the time comes then to make the decisions I think we can talk a little bit more intelligently.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it not true, however, that the administration has indicated their program would cost \$25 billion for R&D in this field over the

next 5 years?

Mr. GOLDWATER. He said he did not know. Now, he mentioned the figure of \$22 billion as an off the top of the head possibility. But the research I am talking about is an ongoing research that we have been doing.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct absolutely. We have had a billion dollars in research this year in

this area.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I say for the safety of our country a billion dollars is not a lot of money. I would rather spend a billion dollars on research for the protection of our country and the whole world, I might say, than throw a billion dollars around on some of the things we throw it around on here.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I thank the Sena-

SOCIAL SECURITY COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS IN 1985

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I was necessarily absent when the vote was called on amendment number 3423, which is intended to assure Social Security recipients that they will receive a cost-of-living increase next year.

If I had been present I would have voted for the well-reasoned approach that was offered by Senator Moynihan, and would have asked to be a co-

sponsor.

I have been a strong and constant advocate of the needs of Social Security recipients from the program's inception. It was my privilege as a Member of the House of Representatives to affirmatively cast my vote for the original Social Security legislation on April 19, 1935.

It is my belief that Social Security is an example of a Federal Government program that has worked and fulfilled

its original promise.

We are advised that the Social Security trust funds are in satisfactory condition and this will allow for the commitment that the Senate has made to the recipients of the Social Security program in 1985. These increases will allow the beneficiaries to keep pace with the rise in prices.

It is encouraging that inflation is at a low level but we must remember the elderly and disabled in most cases are

unable to keep pace with increases in prices, no matter how low they may be.

The further positive action in the Senate guarantees that the Social Security Program will receive a timely COLA on January 1, 1985.

THE RETIREMENT OF MAJ. GEN. ALBERT B. AKERS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Maj. Gen. Albert B. Akers recently retired from the U.S. Army after more than 33 years of distinguished professional service. General Akers graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1951 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant of the artillery. I came to know General Akers during his last assignment, as the commanding general at Fort Jackson, SC. He leaves the Army appreciative of the opportunity he has had to serve his country and to return in some way the education and experience he has received.

It was, indeed, an honor to have worked closely with General Akers on matters of great importance to the State of South Carolina and to our Nation. I know firsthand the positive impact that General Akers' life has had on the military preparedness of our country. The respect and admiration given him has been well earned for his far-reaching achievements and great influence.

As General Akers begins a new era in his life, I believe that he can take great pride in his distinguished career of service to our Nation and rest assured that the flame of freedom burns ever brighter because of his many contributions.

May God bless General Akers and his wife, Mary, with years of happiness and good health. I firmly believe that this happiness is well deserved, as I believe that I am lucky to be able to call Gen. Albert B. Akers my friend.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a paper entitled "Fort Jackson Renaissance" be included at the conclusion of my remarks. This paper is a description of the progress and achievements made by General Akers at Fort Jackson, making it the finest Army basic training installation in the United States.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORT JACKSON RENAISSANCE

At Fort Jackson, the path to excellence has been charted by a Renaissance of high standards involving training, quality of life, service, commitment and discipline. This rebirth of vitality and purpose creates a positive environment in which the "Fort Jackson Team" is molding a cohesive military and civilian community. The Renaissance, more than anything else, is a philosophy of how to train and how to take care of people. It is an all-encompassing surge forward to make Fort Jackson a training center of ex-

cellence and a better place to live and work—where training is tough and demanding because it must be and because it is expected to be—where appearance of the post provides the right backdrop for excellence in training—where better support to the community causes better support by the community—where individual and group pride in accomplishment bring about pride in being a part of the "Fort Jackson Team". In order to move forward on a broad front, innovation was necessary and shaping attitude was the key.

Innovation in training had to be founded on a professional cadre that reflected the meaning of "think, look, and act as a leader." The officer and non-commissioned officer professional development program became our number one priority because a well-trained, competent and disciplined cadre is essential to providing quality soldiers. Included as part of our professional development program was a new initiative called professional guidance which called upon leaders at all levels to teach and apply the morals, values, ethics and traditions unique to the profession of arms.

The Renaissance has had a dramatic impact on the quality of Fort Jackson's training. Initial entry training (IET) is tougher, more demanding and focuses on producing soldiers who are fit to fight and have the positive attitudes necessary to win. We want to develop soldiers who can take orders and accomplish them to exacting standards. Training starts in the Army's largest Reception Station, continues through rigorous Basic Training and does not end until trainees have met or exceeded the demanding standards of Advanced Individual Training. At Fort Jackson, the attitude that trainees must "think, look and act as soldiers-always" is constantly reinforced. Our approach to IET is called the "Total Training Environment" in which everything is viewed as training. Every task, every minute is approached with a positive attitude and a plan to exploit each training opportunity for maximum benefit. Phased training, increased emphasis on conduct and discipline, enhanced standards, tough physical readiness training, common skills reinforcement and testing in AIT, and FTXs for all MOS producing schools are a few of Fort Jackson's training initiatives designed to provide the operating forces with soldiers who are team players immediately ready to contribute to unit mission accomplishment.

Quality of life has been addressed rigorously in Fort Jackson's Renaissance effort. Quality of life means our living and working conditions, our recreational activities and our community services for soldiers, civilian employees and family members. Key programs include the Installation Modernization Program, the Command Sponsorship Program, Task Forces and special activities

and events.

The Installation Modernization Program's goal is to modernize the post's facilities in which Fort Jackson's soldiers, their families and civilians work, live and relax. Currently, forty percent of our facilities in use today were constructed during World War II as temporary buildings. These substandard facilities need replacement not only because of the high energy and maintenance costs to maintain operation, but more importantly, because the very visible, deplorable state of these facilities connotes and leads to perceptions of second class citizenship, a lowering of performance and professionalism, and a lack of team spirit and community pride. First rate work and recreation facilities are

the backdrop to good training, and we have made considerable progress in our renovation and construction projects.

Newly completed construction projects include the Alpine Lodge for hunters and fishermen, the Cadence Club for AIT soldiers, the Officers' Club, and the Roller Skating Rink. Key renovations include the Fort Jackson Welcome Center, the Army Community Service facility, the Post Exchange Shoppette, the Public Affairs/Media Center, the Fort Jackson Post Office, a major Post Hospital upgrade, and the Post Headquarters, with numerous other facilities in planning for upgrade. New projects either under construction or slated for construction this year include a Guest House, Commissary, Chapel/Child Care Center, Education Center, and EM Club for permanent party soldiers. Conceptually complete is a Soldier Service Center which will provide, under one roof, administrative and financial services for all soldiers to include inprocessing and outprocessing of trainees, permanent party, separatees, retirees and their families. The Welcome Center will also become a part of the Soldier Service Center. Effort has been initiated to secure the necessary funds to complete design of the facility and to initiate construction. Across the installation effective management procedures, along with state-of-the-art equipment, such as word processors, sophisticated telephone systems, and computers, have increased the efficiency and teamwork of Fort Jackson operations.

The Command Sponsorship Program is the bridge between the separate but related worlds of training and quality of life. Sponsorship creates a positive environment in which Fort Jackson units share the benefits and responsibility for the success of the various quality of life activities and facilities. Sponsorship of post activities by units establishes the setting for quality training and creates a climate of positive community involvement.

The spirit of community involvement and support also extends to the special activities and events that are held at Fort Jackson. These activities and events link the Fort Jackson community with civilian neighbors in nearby communities. Examples include Torchlight Tattoo on the 4th of July, Volksmarches and the Annual South Carolina Special Olympics.

In short, the Fort Jackson Renaissance represents a dedication to excellence involving training, quality of life, service, discipline and commitment . . . a must for the Army of the 1980s.

TRIBUTE TO COLOMBIA'S "WAR WITHOUT QUARTER"

Mrs. HAWKINS. Mr. President, last month a brave crusader against international drug trafficking was brutally murdered. Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, who had served as Minister of Justice of Colombia, was gunned down by cocaine dealers, due to the Minister's increasingly effective efforts to curb his country's involvement in the drug trade.

The sacrifice this great man has made with his life has not been in vain, however. Colombia has declared a "state of siege" on drug traffickers, and listed below are some of what Colombian authorities have accomplished thus far: 390 persons have

been arrested; 617 houses have been searched; 25 airplanes, 38 trucks and 1 ship have been seized; and 300 tons of marijuana and 164 kilos of cocaine have been confiscated. Colombia is, indeed, waging "War Without Quarter" on drug traffickers.

The reasons for this awakening on the part of Colombia and its citizens to the dangers of drug trafficking are not exclusively related to that nation's collective outrage over Lara Bonilla's assassination. Colombians, increasingly concerned by the growing size, aggressiveness, power, and sheer arrogance of the narcotics organizations, could no longer ignore the fact that their nation was being taken over. For example, the amount of cocaine money that was coming into Colombia had grown to the extent that cocaine dollars were being blamed for wild distortions in the Colombian financial system and even for the failure of one major bank.

Another reason for this increased awareness is the alarming increase in cocaine use by Colombia's young people. The drug networks had encouraged the creation of an internal Colombian market for a cocaine product of low quality, thus not for export—Basuka, a paste of semiprocessed coca leaves suitable for smoking. Their campaign was so successful that Colombian officials believe that this cocaine base is now the most abused stimulant among Colombian youth, and the most dangerous. Not only is it addictive, but it can often create a nightmarish hangover of psychosis.

In their search for profits, then, the Colombian drug dealers do not spare even their own. This internal marketing of cocaine has brought home to the Colombians a problem they once believed was limited to the United States and Europe. With recent developments, however, the Colombians are waking up to the devastating effects of drug trafficking on their society.

It is also obvious that the Colombians will no longer tolerate the violence of the drug underground. In Colombia. there are five guerrilla groups known to be in existence, with more than 10,000 rural and urban fighters. Murders, kidnapings and street crime occur so often in Colombian cities that private bodyguards and armored cars are considered necessities for any family of means. With estimated revenues of \$500 million per year, Colombian cocaine operators are willing to use any means to protect their organizations. That situation has created such lawlessness in Colombia that the citizens of that nation are demanding a return to order.

And it is working. As the editor of Colombia's most widely read newspaper, El Tiempo, stated recently:

We are dealing with an inconceivable challenge and a monstrous provocation that

obliges a change in the rules of the game

* * * the people demand more authority and
an iron fist.

Mr. President, the people and the Government of Colombia should be encouraged and supported in their efforts. It will not be a simple thing to rid their homeland of the scourge of drug dealers, but with the kind of determination exhibited by Rodrigo Lara Bonilla in his short time in office, we know that Colombians can and will be successful in obliterating drug trafficking.

I respectfully request that the enclosed article entitled "Colombia Fights Back After Waking to Ravages of Drug Trade," in the Washington Post, dated May 21, 1984, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 21, 1984]

COLOMBIA FIGHTS BACK AFTER WAKING TO RAVAGES OF DRUG TRADE

(By Jackson Diehl)

BOGOTA, COLOMBIA.—In city slums, teenagers on street corners smoke an addictive raw cocaine base that offers a brief high and often a nightmarish hangover of psychosis.

On the sparsely settled southeastern plains, police discover an "industrial complex" of narcotics: 19 laboratories, 44 buildings, an airstrip with five planes, a power plant and a communications complex. They also discovered 12.5 metric tons of pure cocaine which would be worth up to \$1.2 billion on the street in the United States.

In Bogota, Appeals Court Judge Rodolfo Garcia Ordonez removes a neatly typed, anonymous letter from his top desk drawer. "We order you," it says, "not to intervene again" in the case of a major cocaine trafficker from the commercial center of Medellin. "Otherwise we will be obliged to submit you and your family to a fatal accident," it adds.

These are among the public manifestations of Colombia's vast narcotics underworld. It is a business that during the past five years has grown from an easy-to-ignore illicit traffic with American users to a virtual state-within-a-state maintaining its own public figures, factories and armies here. It is arrogant enough to challenge openly the official leaders of Colombia.

La mafia may have reached its apex on the evening of April 30, when two hired men from Medellin gunned down justice minister Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, who virtually alone had crusaded against the narcotics trade and tried to warn the country that it was a threat.

Since then, President Belisario Betancur has declared a state of siege and a "war without quarter" on drug traffickers. Authorities have arrested more than 500 suspects. The public in this chronically troubled nation of 27 million seems to have awakened.

"The assassination showed the degree of aggressiveness and arrogance, and the sheer size that the narcotics organizations had arrived at," said Garcia, a former prosecutor of narcotics cases. "It was a shock that caused people to analyze a situation they had not paid much attention to before."

The outrage over the Lara Bonilla killing in part seems to reflect public frustration with decades of rampant violence and rural lawlessness that made Colombia a logical

base for smuggling and crime.

Since 1948, when a decade-long civil war known as la violencia erupted between Colombia's traditional Liberal and Conservative parties, wide zones of the undeveloped countryside and the backstreets of big cities have ruled by successive bands of guerrillas, smugglers and crime networks.

Today Colombia is plagued by five leftist guerrilla groups with more than 10,000 rural and urban fighters. Murders, kidnapings and street crime are so common in the cities that private bodyguards and around care are considered virtual necessities for any family of means. Medellin, meanwhile, has been a capital of contraband ranging from marijuana, methaqualone and emeralds to illegally imported American cigarettes.

In this vast underworld, the Colombian cocaine organizations, with their huge installations and estimated \$500 million in annual revenues, have become both the dominant powers and the public symbols of national lawlessness.

It was not always that way. The Colombians who began in the late 1970s to establish networks for refining coca leaves grown in Peru and Bolivia into cocaine and shipping it abroad initially seemed to enjoy public indifference and occasional complicity.

The richest of the traffickers in fact became national celebrities, tolerated and even toasted for their eccentric habits and vast wealth. One of the best-known of those accused by the government of conducting the trade, Pablo Escobar Gaviria, was elected to Congress as an alternate delegate in 1982

Escobar won support around Medellin by donating lighting systems to the stadiums of his favorite soccer teams. On his sprawling ranch, he built artifical lakes and his own airport and stocked a private zoo with exotic animals. One local magazine was even moved to call him the "native Robin Hood." He is now a fugitive.

What has changed national attitudes toward such flamboyant figures has been the increasing influence of the cocaine organizations within traditional institutions and the spread of both drug consumption and vi-

olence within the country.

Eager to replace the coca plants smuggled from Peru and Bolivia with local products, the Colombian organizations several years ago began to encourage the expansion of coca growing in Colombia from a few isolated sites to more than 40,000 acres of fields by last year, according to officials here.

While vast tracts of land were thus taken over by the narcotics industry, Colombian coca leaves proved to be of relatively poor quality. So, Colombian authorities say, the drug networks have sought to create an internal market for raw cocaine base, a paste of semi-processed coca leaves suitable for smoking.

The marketing effort has been frighteningly successful. Although no accurate surveys have been done, law enforcement and family-welfare officials believe that cocaine base, or basuka, may be the most abused stimulant among Colombian youth—and the most dangerous. Because it is only partly processed, the base is usually laced with impurities, such as gasoline residues, that can cause almost immediate neurological damage among users.

The internal marketing of cocaine brought home a problem that many Colombians once perceived as limited to the United States and Europe. By early this year, meanwhile, the influence of narcotics money seemed to be everywhere. Many experts blame cocaine dollars for wild distortions in the financial system and even the failure of one major bank.

Lara Bonilla charged that narcotics capital was financing six of Colombia's 14 professional soccer teams. In nationwide municipal elections in March, authorities acknowledged that millions of dollars from the traffickers had gone into the campaign funds of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

Finally, there was the violence, going beyond gangland slayings among drug traders. Lara Bonilla and U.S. officials charged that Escobar and another alleged trafficker, Carlos Lehder Rivas, helped found a rightwing terrorist group known as Death Kidnappers, which has been blamed for hundreds of assassinations of suspected guerrillas as well as threats and attacks on judges, prosecutors, journalists and politicians opposed to the drug trade.

Evidence revealed this year by Colombian police and U.S. drug enforcement officials indicated that some traffickers had turned from infighting to cooperation with major leftist guerrilla groups. In return for arms and money, U.S. officials charged, some fronts of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces were providing land and high-powered protection to cocaine-processing centers.

The assassination of Lara Bonilla, a promising young leader of the political establishment, seemed to be the last straw.

"We are dealing with an inconceivable challenge and a monstrous provocation that obliges a change in the rules of the game," wrote editor Enrique Santos Calderon in Colombia's most respected newspaper, El Tiempo. "The people demand more authority and an iron fist."

TEXTILE IMPORTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I recently read a most disturbing article that appeared in the July 25 edition of the Washington Post concerning fraudulent shipments of textile/apparel products into this country.

The article pointed out several cases where major textile exporting countries have blatantly disregarded existing quotas and textile agreements with the United States in their effort to capture an even greater share of our domestic market. The article quoted the testimony of Thomas Gray, a senior Customs Service agent, who reportedly told the House Commerce Committee that Customs had seized \$19.6 billion in illegally shipped textile products from October 1983 to mid-July of this year. Unfortunately, this amounts to but a small portion of the massive and expanding problem of illegal textile goods shipments.

Textile/apparel imports into this country over the first 5 months of this year are 45 percent higher than the import volume over the same timeframe in 1983. The textile/apparel trade deficit totaled \$6.2 billion over that same period. Needless to say,

these figures represent record increases.

Mr. President, I cannot understand how such rapid import growth could be allowed to take place in contravention of our textile trade agreements and a commitment by President Reagan to keep import growth in line with domestic market expansion and his directions to the White House staff to do this. The textile multifiber arrangement and bilateral trade agreements between the United States and various exporting countries are generally designed to limit the major exporters of textiles to growth rates of between 11/2 and 3 percent over the next 4 years. Obviously, these agreements are being totally disregarded by many of our trading partners.

Mr. President, it is time for the present administration to address this problem head on. Steps must be taken immediately to preserve textile jobs in this country. Toward that end, I would recommend the following corrective

actions:

First, countries whose exporters disregard textile trade agreements and participate in fraudulent practices should face immediate and substantial reductions in their import quotas.

Second, customs officials should be placed in foreign countries in order to examine U.S.-bound shipments of textile products and to determine the

actual country of origin.

Third, a system of import licensing should be implemented so that customs officials can better control the influx of textile products into the United States.

Fourth, anticounterfeiting legislation, passed by the Senate earlier this summer, should be promptly considered and approved by the House of Representatives. This legislation creates a Federal felony and stiffer civil penalties for persons convicted of intentionally trafficking counterfeit goods.

Fifth, textile product labeling legislation, which I introduced to help consumers better identify American-made textile products, and which has also been approved by the Senate, should be considered and passed by the House expeditiously.

Mr. President, while these suggestions pertain primarily to textiles, I wish to remind my colleagues that a similar situation exists today for many industries. Trading partners that continue to deal in less than good faith make it very difficult for our policy-makers to support the concept of "free trade."

For these reasons, Mr. President, I again emphasize that efforts must be exerted in order to correct these problems. I offer these suggestions today in hopes that action will be taken by the administration and, where legislation is necessary, by the congressional

committees with jurisdiction over trade, to address these serious problems.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the Washington Post article of July 25, 1984, to which I referred earlier in my statement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 25, 1984]

CUSTOMS SAYS TEXTILES POSE SERIOUS PROBLEM

(By Stuart Anderson)

When they landed in Los Angeles, the bolts of polyester fabric carried "Made in Korea" labels. But on the boxes they were shipped in, the same label had been crudely crossed out and the documents accompanying the shipment declared that the fabric's country of origin was Japan.

That \$2 million shipment was described by a U.S. Customs agent yesterday as a drop in the bucket of a multibillion-dollar scam by countries around the world to beat U.S. textile quotas.

Some countries try to sell textiles and wearing apparel that exceeds their U.S. quotas by transshipping the excess through another country that cannot fill its own quotas, senior Customs agent Thomas Gray told the House Commerce Committee's in-

vestigations panel.

Gray, who is based in Hong Kong, said textile products made in China are shipped to the United States under the quotas of Bangladesh, Macao and countries in the Middle East and South and Central America. Similarly, shipments of garments originating in Taiwan sometimes are labeled as coming from Japan, Singapore, the Philippines, South Africa, Panama and countries in the Middle East.

Gray said customs agents discovered Korea's transshipment of the polyester fabric through Japan six months ago and have been seizing illegally labeled cartons of the products ever since.

"They didn't even bother to repack it," said a somewhat nonplused subcommittee Chairman John D. Dingell (D-Mich.). "They just lined out the country of origin. That indicates a certain supreme contempt for American enforcement."

Gray replied that that case showed unusually "sloppy" work. "They are very clever," he said.

Although he declined to put a precise dollar figure on the fraudulent playing with textile quotas, Gray said customs agents are currently investigating cases involving \$2.5 billion of shipments. From last October to mid-July, Customs officials said they had seized \$19.6 billion in illegally shipped textile products.

The increased level of seizures comes as the American textile industry is pressing the Reagan administration to tighten up even more on imports, which hit a record high of 4 billion square yards—an increase of 45 percent—during the first five months of this year. The United States' textile trade deficit totaled \$6.2 billion in that period.

U.S. manufacturers and labor unions this week filed unfair trade cases against 11 countries—Panama, Colombia, Argentina, Indonesia, Malaysia, Peru, Portugal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Turkey—and said other complaints will be filed against Mexico and the Philippines

Running down the list of America's major textile suppliers in the Pacific Rim, Gray said:

Taiwan, the largest supplier of apparel to the United States, is likely to remain a problem as the quota system exists.

South Korea, which has just moved up as the No. 2 supplier, runs a gamut of fraudulent activities that includes transshipping textiles, counterfeiting of trademarks and brand name products, and misdirecting and undervaluing merchandise to evade customs duties. Korean transsipments go through Japan, the Middle East and Panama.

Hong Kong, the No. 3 supplier, cooperates

Hong Kong, the No. 3 supplier, cooperates better than any other country with U.S. authorities to prevent fraud. Nevertheless, with its booming textiles industry, it is "a primary source of transshipments."

China, the giant of the Pacific Rim that has emerged as the fourth-largest supplier of textiles to the United States, is known for transshipping its excess production through a number of countries.

Japan, No. 5 among major U.S. suppliers, serves as a transshipment point for products originating in Korea, Taiwan and Macao.

Singapore, which offers U.S. authorities "the lowest level of cooperation" in the Asian region, serves as a base for the transshipment of acrylic knit sweaters and cotton and synthetic jackets from Taiwan, and for other apparel from Malaysia and China.

Sri Lanka strictly monitors its own industry, so a "Made in Sri Lanka" label means it is the country of origin.

India, whose government "makes nice gestures but is not very cooperative with U.S. authorities," is a source of textiles transshipped through neighboring nations of Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh.

Bangladesh, with a new textile industry that first moved into the U.S. market in 1982, is increasing exports to get larger quotas, currently serves as a transshipment point for shorts and pants that are made in China.

Pakistan transships towels and similar products and poses problems as a source of undervalued and misdescribed goods.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Saunders, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations and a treaty message which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations and treaty message received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

ANNUAL REPORTS ON ACTIVITIES UNDER THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT-MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT-PM 160

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following mes-

sage from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 26 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-596), I transmit herewith the 1983 annual reports on the activities under that law of the Department of Labor, of the Department of Health and Human Services, and of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

RONALD REAGAN. THE WHITE HOUSE, July 27, 1984.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The Committee on the Judiciary was discharged from the further consideration of the following joint resolution; which was placed on the calendar:

H.J. Res. 577. Joint resolution designating August 1984, as "Polish American Heritage Month."

MEASURE HELD AT THE DESK

By unanimous consent, the following bill was ordered held at the desk until the close of business on July 30, 1984:

H.R. 5890. An act to establish a commission to assist in the first observance of the Federal legal holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-3598. A communication from the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Agency for calendar year 1983; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-3599. A communication from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the midyear monetary policy report of the Board dated July 25, 1984; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3600. A communication from the Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Nuclear Waste Management and the Use of the Sea"; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3601. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a delay in preparing the required comprehensive Mission Plan; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3602. A communication from the Acting Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the situation of El

Salvador; to the Committee on Foreign Relations

EC-3603. A communication from the Director of the Office of Information Resources Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a new Privacy Act system of records; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3604. A communication from the Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission on the administration of the Government in the Sunshine Act for calendar year 1983; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3605. A communication from the Secretary of the Postal Rate Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of the postponement of a prehearing conference: to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3606. A communication from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of the reports issued by the General Accounting Office during June 1984; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3607. A communication from the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the emergency appointment of bankruptcy judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-3608. A communication from the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the number of waivers of the provisions of section 207(c)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act for fiscal year 1984; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-719. A resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Armed Services.

"House Resolution No. 18

"Whereas, the people of the state of Louisiana are dedicated to the concept of world peace; and

Whereas, the present trend toward mutually assured destruction characterized by the stockpiling of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union is an ever present threat to world peace; and

"Whereas, there exists developing technology which in the future will provide for construction of a nonnuclear defense system to protect the United States against a nuclear first strike by the Soviet Union or any other hostile power; and

Whereas, this system, commonly known as "High Frontier" technology, involves the use of satellites to intercept and destroy nuclear missiles targeted at the United States or at the territories of its allies; and

'Whereas, the use of such a system would not mean that the nuclear retaliatory capabilities of the United States would be aban-

doned or neglected; and

Whereas, the United States can take the first step in efforts to assure world peace and mutual assured survival while continuing to protect its people from the threat of nuclear war through the use of "High Frontier" technology.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana that Congress is hereby memorialized to take the initial step toward achieving world peace and mutual assured survival by active pursuit of the concept of "High Frontier" technology as an effective means of eliminating the threat to world peace caused by the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

"Be it further resolved that copies of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of the Louisiana Congressional delegation."

POM-720. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the State of Illinois; to the Committee on Armed Services.

"SENATE RESOLUTION No. 719

"Whereas, the Joliet Arsenal is a 26,000 acre federally owned facility which has a long history of providing substantial and significant contributions to America's national defense, both during times of war and peace; and

this vast resource, which is 'Whereas. strategically located near two interstate highways systems, rail and water transportation systems, and major metropolitan areas, remains virtually idle, and reactivation of the Joliet Arsenal should be serious-

ly considered; and

Whereas, the maximum utilization of the Joliet Arsenal would not only be an efficient and tax-saving use of existing facilities, but would also be a clear demonstration of a federal capacity to respond to acute local needs by replacing hundreds of dispossessed jobs and easing, particularly in the Joliet area, oppressive unemployment of stagger-

ing proportions; and

Whereas, the Arsenal Task Force has listed five priorities concerning the reactivation of the Arsenal: federal funds, starting in 1985, to upgrade the physical structure of the plant and to create jobs; support of 4 ammunitions production contracts that Honeywell is bidding for; transfer of 160 acres of land from the Army so the Joliet Regional Port District can develop a port authority; establishment of an ordinance training school, where military would train in the use of military equipment and ammunition; and production of high-powered explosives; and

Whereas, the State of Illinois, which suffers a massive tax imbalance with Washington and a disproportionate share of the economic burden caused by the recent recession, hopes that it will receive a more equitable and commensurate share of federal economic stimulus as the Congress, along with the Department of Defense, concurs on the inherent and overwhelming advantages that the Joliet Arsenal offers; therefore, be

"Resolved, by the Senate of the Eighty-Third General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we hereby petition President Ronald Reagan, the United States Congress, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and the Illinois Congressional Delegation to support all efforts to reactivate the Joliet Arsenal; and be it further

"Resolved, That a suitable copy of this

preamble and resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, each member of the Illinois Congressional Delegation, and the Secretary of Defense.'

POM-721. A resolution adopted by the Southeastern Regional Council of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials relating to public housing; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

POM-722. A resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia urging Congress to approve the compact of free association and its related agreements entered into between the government of the Federated States of Micronesia and Government of the United States of America; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

POM-723. A resolution adopted by the council of the county of Hawaii urging Congress to acknowledge the illegal and immoral actions of the United States in the overthrow of the kingdom of Hawaii and grant restitution for losses and damages suffered by native Hawaiians as a result of those actions; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

POM-724. A resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of Michigan; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

"RESOLUTION

"Whereas, United States Congressman Dale Kildee, along with a number of other Michigan congressional representatives, has recently introduced into Congress a which would designate 90,300 acres in three of our state's national forests as national wilderness areas. This designation will cut off any commercial use of this vast expanse of land and will highly restrict its use for recreational purposes. Moreover, it is over and above the wilderness areas already designated by Michigan state government in the Upper Peninsula; and

"Whereas, the multiple use of forest products is now the basis of the economy of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. This proposed designation, then, will add to the unemployment problems in the State of Michigan and will restrict economic growth, particularly in the western end of the Upper Peninsula where welfare case loads and unemployment rank the highest in Michigan;

"Whereas, additionally, there seems to be a widely-held misconception that the designation of forest lands as wilderness areas contributes to the tourism industry. Tourism in Michigan, however, is largely based on the use of forest lands, not on the restriction of them. Moreover, the wilderness area concept is not as conducive to good wildlife management as many believe. Well managed and maintained forests provide the cover, feed, and shelter which wildlife requires to exist; and

Whereas, it would be far better if Congressman Kildee and the other sponsors of this ill-conceived legislation were to pay more attention to creating employment in their own districts rather than enacting legislation which would cause increased unemployment in the Upper Peninsula. Congressman Kildee, along with the supporters of this legislation, have never provided for the economic development of, and jobs in, Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Legislation to restrict the multiple use of these lands will only add to the misery and suffering of individuals who live in the Upper Peninsula; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate, That the members of the Michigan Legislature hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States not to create additional wilderness area in Michigan's Upper Peninsula; and be it fur"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation."

POM-725. A joint resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 55

"Whereas, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was originally completed in 1923 and dedicated to the American dead of World War I' and

"Whereas, the Coliseum was conceived and financed by local civic groups as a 75,000 seat multi-purpose stadium to serve the people of the Great Los Angeles Region;

"Whereas, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was partially reconstructed and enlarged to seat 101,574 spectators for the 1932 Summer Olympic Games of the Xth Olympiad, and has since witnessed many other significant sports, as well as political and historical events; and

"Whereas, the Coliseum was both originally designed and later redesigned by one of the pioneer architects of California, John Parkinson, with his son Donald B. Parkinson, whose many Los Angeles buildings of the early 20th Century are now nationally registered historical sites; and

"Whereas, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was successfully nominated by The American Institute of Architects, and cosponsored by the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission and the University of Southern California, as California Registered Historical Landmark No. 960, and has been nominated and cosponsored by those organizations as a National Historic Landmark; and

"Whereas, the Coliseum will become the first Olympic stadium in the world to host two official modern Summer Olympic Games when the XXIIIrd Olympiad opens there on July 28, 1984; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California endorses the nomination of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum as a National Historic Landmark and memorializes the Secretary of the Interior to expeditiously make that designation in order that the dedication ceremonies may be held on the opening day of the XXIIIrd Olympiad in Los Angeles, July 28, 1984; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of

the United States."

POM-726. A concurrent resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Finance.

"House Concurrent Resolution No. 204

"Whereas, this nation has a responsibility to aid the less fortunate including the needy, deprived children who are as much a part of the future of this nation as are the children reared in a more economically stable environment; the elderly; and those who, due to physical, mental, or educational handicaps, economic conditions, or child care responsibilities, are unable to provide for themselves and their families; and

"Whereas, with so many people out of work and many of them exhausting unemployment benefits every day, programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, General Assistance, Food Stamps, and programs for the medically needy become the last defense against utter destitution for families and individuals; and

"Whereas, the need to reduce the federal deficit should no longer be used to argue for further erosion of welfare programs, nor should states and localities, most of which are under serious financial strain themselves, be forced, through their own welfare programs, to compensate for a national economic policy that has largely been indifferent to unemployment and the misery we call poverty; and

"Whereas, since additional cuts in current welfare programs would be truly devastating but there is still a need for more assistance with available dollars, it is therefore critical that federal government begin seeking out innovative ways of dealing with these very grave problems, ways in which welfare dollars can be more effectively spent for the benefit of those in need; and

"Whereas, because statistics show that the State of Louisiana has a very high population of poor people; ranks near to the last among the fifty states in its AFDC flat grant amount, and has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world (12.9%), the state would be an ideal environment for pilot programs for innovative welfare reform approaches instituted by the federal government.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the legislature does hereby urge and request the Congress of the United States to initiate and pursue innovative welfare reform programs, and also requests that the Louisiana congressional delegation aggressively pursue designation for Louisiana as a pilot state for appropriate new welfare reform approaches initiated by Congress.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the secretary of the United States Senate, the clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of the Louisiana congressional delegation."

POM-727. A resolution adopted by the City Council of Beaumont, TX, relating to Texas Highway 87; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

POM-728. A joint resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 51

"Whereas, the Environmental Protection Agency is currently considering the possibility of burning hazardous wastes in incinerator ships off California's coast; and

"Whereas, the legal jurisdiction and enforcement responsibility in international waters is unclear and, to date, no regulations for incineration of hazardous wastes at sea have been adopted; and

"Whereas, no substantial research has yet been completed on the potential short-term or cumulative long-term effects of this incineration proposal and neither have any risk assessments been completed; and

"Whereas, spills or leakages of raw waste from an incineration vessel could cause considerable adverse economic and environmental consequences; and

"Whereas, a hazardous waste spill could occur or hazardous wastes could be dumped in an emergency, releasing highly persistent, toxic compounds which would sink to the bottom of the ocean, contaminating the entire water column and the marine life therein; and

"Whereas, the practice of ocean incineration does not provide for complete destruction of any hazardous waste, thus allowing unburned materials or dangerous emissions to escape onto the microlayer of the ocean, poisoning organisms and fish and possibly moving up the food chain; and

"Whereas, hydrocholoric acid, which is sometimes released in the burning process, could contribute to the formation of acid

fog and acid rain; and

"Whereas, the technical capability to incinerate hazardous waste remains unknown, including the ability to maintain a constant temperature of at least 2,400° F for long periods of time, and it would be difficult to monitor the technical burning process at sea; and

"Whereas, transporting the waste materials to incineration sites would also present risks of catastrophic damage to the marine

and coastal environments; and "Whereas, additional unknown and significant adverse effects may also exist but are not clear, due to the lack of information;

now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California jointly. That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President of the United States to direct the Environmental Protection Agency to stop considering any proposals to incinerate hazardous waste off California's coast, until valid and reliable scientific studies have proven that the environmental effects of this proposal would be negligible; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the

United States."

POM-729. A joint resolution adopted by the Ashland (Kentucky) Area Labor/Management Committee relating to the Fair Trade in Steel Act; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-730. A resolution adopted by the Michigan Council of Senior Citizens, Inc. relating to Medicare Funds; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-731. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 52

"Whereas, canned tuna imports have increased 128 percent in the past five years;

"Whereas, between 1981 and 1983, tuna imports have increased about 73 percent; and

"Whereas, in 1983, imports gained 40 percent, and, so far in 1984, imports are increasing over 1983; and

"Whereas, since 1981, employment in the California tuna industry has declined 23 percent, and over 4,000 people have lost their jobs; and

"Whereas, between 1981 and 1982, the cannery processing capacity for tuna has declined over 16 percent, and over 20 percent of the vessels in the tuna fleet are idle or underutilized; and

"Whereas, the amount of tuna packed in water was aggressively promoted by domestic canners and has reached a majority of the present market, but the tariff rate on water-packed tuna is only 6 percent compared to the tariff rate of 35 percent on oil-packed tuna, which has created a tariff loophole through which foreign packers in 1983 imported into the domestic market over 290 million cans of water-packed tuna; and

"Whereas, the California tuna industry has petitioned the United States International Trade Commission for relief from the increasing flow of imported canned tuna in water from foreign packers; now, therefore, he if.

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature respectfully memorializes the President, the Congress, and the United States International Trade Commission to provide immediate relief to the tuna industry of California and this nation from the ever increasing flow of imported canned tuna in water by, among other methods, adjusting appropriate tariff rates; and be it

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the United States International Trade Commission, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-732. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 104

"Whereas, the federal Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance program, established pursuant to Title 2 of the federal Social Security Act (42 USC Sec. 401 et seq.), was established in order to provide, among other persons, the elderly with an adequate income to meet basic needs and live in a dignified manner; and

"Whereas, persons who have a similar wage history receive greater old age benefits under this program if they reach age 62 during, or prior to, 1978, than if they reach

age 62 after 1978; and

"Whereas, several bills have been introduced in the United States Congress to alleviate this disparity, including H.R. 4093, introduced by California Congressman Edward Roybal; and

"Whereas, it is clearly unjust to permit persons reaching age 62 after 1978 to continue receiving as much as \$100 per month less in benefits than those persons with similar wage histories reaching that age during, or prior to, 1978; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature hereby memorializes the Congress and President of the United States to enact legislation equalizing the old age benefit levels received under the Social Security program by all persons with similar wage histories, regardless of the date when they become age 62, and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution shall be transmitted to the Chief Clerk of the Assembly to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each Senator and Representative in the California congressional delegation."

POM-733. A joint resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina; to the Committee on Finance.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 825

"Whereas, changes in federal policy implemented in 1981 have led to the termination of thousands of North Carolinians formerly receiving Social Security disability benefits; and

"Whereas, over two-thirds of those who appealed their terminations were found to have been unlawfully denied benefits; and

"Whereas, North Carolina has placed a moratorium on terminations by a 1983 Executive Order which remains in place; and

"Whereas, much needed comprehensive reform legislation has been introduced and is being considered in both the United States Senate and House of Representatives; Now, therefore, Be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring:

"Section 1. The North Carolina General Assembly requests that the delegation to the United States Senate and House of Representatives from North Carolina use every available means to assure that meaningful reform legislation is passed to protect the rights of the disabled under both Title II and Title XVI of the Social Security Act.

"Sec. 2. The North Carolina General Assembly recommends that such reform legis-

lation include:

"(1) A requirement that the Social Security Administration demonstrate a clear improvement in a claimant's medical condition before terminating disability benefits;

"(2) The continuation of a terminated claimant's benefits through appeal to the

Appeals Council;

"(3) Improvements in Continuing Disability Review procedures;

"(4) A mandate to consider all available medical evidence in the consideration of both initial claims and terminations; and

"(5) A requirement that the Social Security Administration promulgate all disability standards in the form of regulations, subject to public notice and comment.

"Sec. 3. The North Carolina General Assembly urges that the President of the United States take all steps necessary to ensure passage of meaningful reform legislation regarding Title II and Title XVI of

the Social Security Act.

"Sec. 4. The Secretary of State shall send a certified copy of this resolution to each member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives representing North Carolina, to the Secretary of the United States Senate and Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and to the President of the United States.

"Sec. 5. This resolution is effective upon

ratification.

"In the General Assembly read three times and ratified, this the 26th day fo June, 1984."

POM-734. A resolution adopted by the Pan-Macedonian Association of the United States and Canada relating to military aid to Turkey; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

POM-735. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

"House Concurrent Resolution No. 61

"Whereas, on August 31, 1983, Soviet war planes shot down a Korean commercial airliner, killing United States Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia and two hundred sixty-eight other innocent citizens, thus demonstrating a barbaric and despicable use of military power without provocation; and

"Whereas, the Soviets have suppressed democratic movements in their client states including the use of armed forces in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Poland (1982); and

"Whereas, communist governments in approximately thiry countries have ruled for a combined total of nearly seven hundred years without a peaceful transition of democracy in any nation; and

"Whereas, of the twelve wars waged in 1982, ten involved Soviet-backed troops; and

"Whereas, the Soviets or their client states have destroyed free trade unions everywhere including, most recently, Solidarity in Poland and the free trade union in Nicaragua; and

"Whereas, the Soviet Union has continued to escalate development and deployment of

its military forces; and

"Whereas, the Louisiana Legislature finds and declares that the Soviet Union is the greatest threat to peace, freedom, and democracy in the world today.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the Legislature of the state of Louisiana condemns aggression by the Soviet Union and urges the President and Congress of the

United States, and Olympic Games officials to take appropriate action to oppose Soviet aggression and to take specific actions in regard to participation of the Soviet Union

in the 1984 Olympic Games, including but

"(1) That the International Olympic Committee request the Soviet Union to withdraw voluntarily from the 1984 Games to prevent any potential outside acts of violence and terrorism directed against the aggression of the Soviet Union that could injure or kill innocent athletes from any country, as well as Olympic spectators and disinterested American citizens and foreign visitors:

"(2) That the Congress, the President, and Olympic officials support the formation of a Human Rights Monitoring Committee composed of international human rights groups, to ensure compliance by all Olympic committees with the Helsinki Accords, the United Nations Protocol on Status of Refugees, and the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to protect the human rights of Olympic participants, including rights of defection and political asylum;

"(3) That the President and the Congress prevent the approval of request by the Soviet Olympic Committee to land twenty-five Aeroflot planes, dock a cruise ship, or let Soviet journalists have unrestricted travel privilege during the Olympic Games, in order to prevent KGB agents and operatives from carrying out spy activities and electronic surveillance of U.S. defense capa-

bilities

"(4) That the United States Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee institute the strictest drug testing procedures available to detect the use of all types of performance enhancement drugs, including somatropin (HGH, STH), by Olympic athletes, and to automatically disqualify any athletes discovered using such drugs;

"(5) That the United States Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee not make any special accommodations, event location changes, or

transportation arrangements for the Soviet Union or Eastern Bloc countries at pre-Olympic sporting events or at the Olympic Games which are not ordinarily provided to all Olympic participating countries, unless the requesting country pays in advance for any such approved arrangements:

"(6) That the International Olympic Committee, the United States Olympic Committee, and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee appoint Olympic referees and judges from all participating countries without showing preferential treatment or 'stacking' of referees and judges in favor of the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries:

"(7) That the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee renegotiate its unsigned contract with the Soviet-Eastern Bloc's Organization of International Radio and Television to ensure that these countries pay an equitable amount for their Olympic broadcast rights

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Clerk of the Louisiana House of Representatives transmit copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and the President of the United States Senate, to each Senator and Representative from Louisiana in the Congress of the United States, the International Olympic Committee, the United States Olympic Committee, and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee."

POM-736. A resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

"House Bill No. 1164

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Laws of Maryland read as follows:

ARTICLE-TRANSPORTATION

"(a) The Authority is authorized to establish and maintain a regular police force, to be known as the metro transit police, to proprotection for its patrons, personnel, transit facilities. The metro transit police shall have the powers and duties and shall be subject to the limitations set forth in this section. It shall be composed of both uniformed and plainclothes personnel and shall be charged with the duty of enforcing the laws of the signatories, and the laws, or-dinances and regulations of the political subdivisions thereof in the transit zone, and the rules and regulations of the Authority. The jurisdiction of the metro transit police shall be limited to all the transit facilities (including bus stops) owned, controlled or operated by the Authority, but this restriction shall not limit the power of the metro transit police to make arrests in the transit zone for violations committed upon, to or against such transit facilities committed from within or outside such transit facilities, while in hot or close pursuit or to execute traffic citations and criminal process in accordance with subsection (c) below. The members of the metro transit police shall have concurrent jurisdiction in the performance of their duties with the duly constituted law enforcement agencies of the signatories and of the political subdivisions thereof in which any transit facility of the Authority is located or in which the Authority operates any transit service. Nothing contained in this section shall either relieve any signatory or political subdivision or agency thereof from its duty to provide police, fire and other public safety service and protection, or limit, restrict or interfere with the jurisdiction of or the performance of duties by the existing police, fire and other public safety agencies. For purposes of this section, "bus stop" means that area within 150 feet of a metrobus bus stop sign, excluding the interior of any building not owned, controlled, or operated by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

"(b)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this section, a member of the metro transit police shall have the same powers, including the power of arrest, and shall be subject to the same limitations, including regulatory limitations, in the performance of his duties as a member of the duly constituted police force of the political subdivision in which the metro transit police member is engaged in the performance of his duties. However, a member of the metro transit police is authorized to carry and use only such weapons, including handguns, as are issued by the Authority.

(c) Members of the metro transit police shall have power to execute on the transit facilities owned, controlled, or operated by the Authority any traffic citation or any criminal process issued by any court of any signatory or of any political subdivision of a signatory, for any felony, misdemeanor or other offense against laws, ordinances, rules, or regulations of the Authority, or of the signatory or its political subdivision as specified in subsection (a). With respect to offenses committed upon, to, or against the transit facilities owned, controlled or operated by the Authority, the metro transit policy shall have power to execute criminal process within the transit zone.

(d) Upon the apprehension or arrest of any person by a member of the metro transit police pursuant to the provisions of subsection (b), the arresting officer, as required by the law of the place of arrest, shall either issue a summons or a citation against the person, or book or deliver the person to the duly constituted judicial officer of the signatory or political subdivision where the arrest is made, for disposition as required by

law.

(e) The Authority shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the safe, convenient and orderly use of the transit facilities, including the payment and the manner of the payment of fares or charges therefor, the protection of the transit facilities, the control of traffic and parking upon the transit facilities, and the safety and protection of the riding public. In the event that any such rules and regulations contravene the laws, ordinances or regulations or police operational rules of a signatory or any political subdivision thereof which are existing or subsequently enacted, these laws, ordinances or regulations of the signatory or the political subdivision shall apply and the conflicting rule or regulation, or portion thereof, of the Authority shall be void within the jurisdiction of that signatory or political subdivision. In all other respects, the rules and regulations of the Authority shall be uniform throughout the transit zone. The rules and regulations adopted by WMATA will be adopted by the board following public hearings held in ac-cordance with § 15 supra and then shall be published by the political subdivisions of the signatories in the same manner as their respective local ordinances are published. Judges and clerks of the several courts having jurisdiction in the signatories and their political subdivisions shall have the authority to impose, collect, and enforce penalties for failure to pay fines for viola-tion of such rules and regulations in the same manner as fines are imposed, collected, and enforced in the respective signatories or political subdivisions. Any person violating any rule or regulation of the Authority shall be subject to arrest and, upon conviction by a court of competent jurisdiction, shall pay a fine of not more than \$250 and costs, and, upon further order of the court, shall reimburse WMATA for any loss or damage resulting from the violation.

(f) With respect to members of the metro

transit police, the Authority shall

(1) Establish classifications based on the nature and scope of duties, and fix and provide for their qualifications, appointment, removal, tenure, term, compensation, pension and retirement benefits;

- (2) Provide for their training and, for this purpose, the Authority may enter into contracts or agreements with any public or private organization engaged in police training, and this training and the qualifications of the uniformed and plainclothes personnel shall at least equal the requirements of each signatory and of the political subdivisions therein in the transit zone for their personnel performing comparable duties;
- (3) Prescribe distinctive uniforms to be worn.
- (g) The Authority shall have the power to enter into agreements with the signatories, the political subdivisions thereof in the transit zone and public safety agencies located therein, including those of the federal government, for the delineation of the functions and responsibilities of the metro transit police and other duly constituted police, fire and other public safety agencies, and for mutual assistance.
- (h) Before entering upon the duties of office, each member of the metro transit police shall take or subscribe to an oath or affirmation, before a person authorized to administer oaths, faithfully to perform the duties of that office.

SECTION 2. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall take effect July 1, 1984.

POM-737. A resolution adopted by the International Institute of Municipal Clerks relating to registration and polling places used in federal election be accessible to the handicapped and elderly persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

POM-738. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana: to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"House Concurrent Resolution No. 49

"Whereas, the Ninety-Fifth Congress of the United States of America at the second session, in both houses, by a constitutional majority of two-thirds thereof, adopted the following proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States of America in the following words, to wit:

"JOINT RESOLUTION

"Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to Congress:

"ARTICLE -

"Section 1. For purpose of representation in the Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and Article V of this Constitution, the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall be treated as though it were a State.

"Section 2. The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the people of the District constituting the seat of government, and as shall be pro-

vided by the Congress.

"Section 3. The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

"Section 4. This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission."

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the Legislature of the state of Louisiana does hereby ratify the foregoing proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

"Be it further resolved that certified copies of this Resolution shall be forwarded to the administration of General Services, Washington, D.C., and to the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States."

POM-739. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 134

"Whereas, the Congress of the United States has designated July 20, 1984, as National POW/MIA Recognition Day; and

"Whereas, the Governor has designated the week of July 15 to 20, 1984, as POW/ MIA Week; and

"Whereas, the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia is continuing its efforts for the return of its members' husbands, sons, and brothers; and

"Whereas, the Viet Vet House from its inception has a primary mandate that, "... the Vietnam War ends when the dying at home stops, the nightmares are laid to rest, the legacy of physical and emotional concerns are addressed, the 2,500 POW/MIAs are accounted for, and the business of living is gotten on with pride, honor, and dignity for all . .."; and

"Whereas, the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia will be coordinating a national balloon release together with other veterans groups and agencies on July 20, 1984, and the Viet Vet House will be the local sponsor for the National League of

Families in Sacramento; and

"Whereas, at 1 p.m. on July 20, 1984, the Viet Vet House will release 2,238 red, white, and blue balloons and 250 gold balloons from the west steps of the State Capitol to represent the 2,488 men still unaccounted for in Southeast Asia; now, therefore, be it

for in Southeast Asia; now, therefore, be it "Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of California proclaims July 20, 1984, as a special day of recognition for the 250 California POW/MIAs still held unaccounted for by the countries of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam and a day of national remembrance for the 2,488 men still missing; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature supports the federal government's efforts to expedite the recovery and return of the remains of dead POW/MIAs currently being held by the governments of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, and to secure the release of all POW/MIAs still alive and held by those governments; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the governments of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, to the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, and to the Viet Vet House."

POM-740. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 108

"Whereas, in 1983, UCLA graduate Peter Franklin was the first quadriplegic admitted to a California medical school; and "Whereas, he was subjected to four

"Whereas, he was subjected to four months of struggle with the State Department of Rehabilitation which initially refused to grant him the financial aid needed by him to attend medical school; and

"Whereas, the state department initially urged Franklin to seek a career as a research assistant which it deemed a more fitting form of entry level employment; and

"Whereas, there currently is no existing, uniform federal definition of 'entry level

employment'; and

"Whereas, the absence of such a definition allows state and federal assistance sources for education, rehabilitation, and vocational training to push entry level support to the lowest possible level, which tends to discourage individuals with disabilities from seeking their highest potential; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly. That the Legislature of the State of California encourages persons with disabilities to seek their highest potential at all times despite physical and social obstacles; and be it fur-

"Resolved, That when state and federal assistance for education, rehabilitation, and vocational training to persons with disabilities is predicated on entry level employment, that that employment be defined on the basis of an assessment of the individual's skills, aptitude, and abilities in order to assist and encourage the individual in reaching his or her highest potential; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President, the Congress of the United States, the Department of Education and the Commissioner of Rehabilitation Services to define "entry level employment" as it pertains to persons with disabilities seeking state and federal assistance for education, rehabilitation, and vocational training, and to promulgate regulations to ensure the uniform application of this definition throughout the United States so that it will serve to motivate individuals with disabilities to seek their highest potential; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House

of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, the Department of Education, and the Commissioner of Rehabilitation Services."

POM-741. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 68

"Whereas, the California Department Commanders Veterans Council unanimously agreed that a new national cemetery should be established by the United States near San Luis Dam near the City of Los Banos, California; and

"Whereas, this proposal has been concurred with by the American Legion Department of California, the Council of Administration of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the State of California, and the national and state bodies of the American G.I. Forum of the United States; and

"Whereas, a public-spirited citizen is willing to donate, deed, and dedicate approximately 350 acres of land adjacent to the San Luis Reservoir for a national cemetery; and

"Whereas, the San Luis site is adjacent to a California state park, assuring the site will not be overrun with commercial or residential development; is located in the center of the state, with major highways giving easy accessibility to the site; is in reasonable proximity to eight commercial airports; is located a reasonable distance to four military installations, and is readily accessible to California veterans, as well as more than two million veterans living in the 10 other western states; and

"Whereas, the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, has 2,000 acre-feet of water available for use by the national cemetery from the San Luis

Dam, now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to establish a national cemetery near San Luis Dam near the City of Los Banos, California; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-742. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

"RESOLUTION

"Whereas, time spent in military service gives veterans an opportunity to gain technical skills, experience and good work habits that are transferable to the civilian job market; and

"Whereas, veterans continue to have higher unemployment and remain out of work longer than other groups, despite the need for well-trained employees in growth industries and in occupations requiring technological skills; and

"Whereas, the Emergency Veterans' Job Training Act of 1983, was enacted to help America's business community build more capable, productive workforces by reimbursing employers for hiring and training eligible Korean Conflict and Vietnam-era veterans; and "Whereas, when the Emergency Veterans' Job Training Act of 1983 is fully implemented, it will represent a major and positive step toward helping the American business community fill the jobs being created by new technology and an expanding economy; and

"Whereas, providing jobless veterans with new opportunities for permanent, privatesector employment is one of the greatest tributes we can pay to individuals who served well and sacrificed much during difficult periods in our Nation's history; therefore be it.

"Resolved, that the Senate of Pennsylvania designate the month of June, 1984, as "Hire a Vet Month," in recognition of the cooperation among the Department of Labor, the Veterans' Administration and the Nation's business community in developing employment and training opportunities for our veterans; and be it further

"Resolved, that copies of this resolution be transmitted to the presiding officers of each house of Congress and to each member of Congress from Pennsylvania."

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. MELCHER (for himself and Mr. DECONCINI):

S. 2879. A bill to provide for cooperation between the Secretary of the Interior and Indian tribes with respect to the regulation of coal mining operations on Indian reservation lands and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines on such land, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. JEPSEN:

S. Res. 425. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the Joint Committee print entitled "Industrial Policy Movement in the United States: Is It the Answer?"; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MELCHER (for himself, and Mr. DECONCINI):

S. 2879. A bill to provide for cooperation between the Secretary of the Interior and Indian tribes with respect to the regulation of coal mining operations on Indian reservation lands and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines on such land, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

• Mr. MELCHER. Mr. President, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977, called for a special study by the Secretary of the Interior in consultation with Indian tribes for strip mining coal on their own lands.

The study included "proposed legislation designed to allow Indian tribes to elect to assume full regulatory authority over the administration and enforcement of regulations of surface mining of coal on Indian lands." This requirement in section 710 of the act was completed over a year ago.

After reviewing the Secretary's study, I am today introducing legislation to implement Indian regulation of surface coal mining operations and activities on Indian lands. As much as possible this bill is adapted to place Indian tribes that have now or will have in the future coal strip mine operations on their own land to have the same rights or to be in the same position as the States with the option to run their own reclamation program. If the tribes do not exercise that option of running an approved reclamation program, then the Secretary of the Interior will be in charge of the program as required in the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act.

I believe this bill is a constructive opportunity for Indian tribes in the management of their own coal resources and will meet their needs and properly safeguard their interests and their lands.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 553

At the request of Mr. Hart, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell] was added as a cosponsor of S. 553, a bill to authorize a national program of improving the quality of education.

S. 1549

At the request of Mr. Armstrong, the name of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Nickles] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1549, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit individual retirement accounts, qualified retirement trusts and certain educational organizations to invest in working interests in oil and gas properties without incurring unrelated business taxable income.

S. 1841

At the request of Mr. Thurmond, the name of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Packwood] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1841, a bill to promote research and development, encourage innovation, stimulate trade, and make necessary and appropriate amendments to the antitrust, patent, and copyright laws.

S. 2743

At the request of Mr. Grassley, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Helms] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2743, a bill to designate a portion of 16th Street, Northwest, Washington, DC, on which the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics is located as "Andrei Sakharov Avenue".

S. 2766

At the request of Mr. Thurmond, the names of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Bingaman], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Roth], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Boren] were added as cosponsors of S. 2766, a bill to amend chapter 44, title 18, United States Code, to regulate the manufacture and importation of armor piercing ammunition.

S. 2875

At the request of Mr. Hollings, the name of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2875, a bill to establish qualifications for individuals appointed to the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1985, and for other purposes.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 269

At the request of Mr. Levin, the names of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Sarbanes], and the Senator from Florida [Mrs. Hawkins] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 269, a joint resolution designating the week beginning September 23, 1984, as "National Adult Day Care Center Week".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 272

At the request of Mr. Murkowski, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Specter], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Durenberger] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 272, a joint resolution recognizing the anniversaries of the Warsaw Uprising and the Polish resistance to the invasion of Poland during World War II.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 310

At the request of Mr. Levin, the names of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Stafford], and the Senator from Florida [Mrs. Hawkins] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 310, a joint resolution to designate the week beginning September 16, 1984, as "National Osteopathic Medicine Week".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 311

At the request of Mr. Levin, the names of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Texas [Mr. Bentsen], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Domenici], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Nunn] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 311, a joint resolution to designate the week of October 13, 1984, through October 19, 1984, as "National Independent Laboratory Week".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 323

At the request of Mr. Murkowski, the names of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Riegle], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Glenn], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Mathias], the Senator from Pennsylvania

[Mr. Specter], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 323, a joint resolution designating August 1984 as "Polish American Heritage Month".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 327

At the request of Mr. Kasten, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Heinz], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Cochran], were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 327, a joint resolution to designate the week beginning September 2, 1984 as "Youth of America Week".

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 118

At the request of Mr. Grassley, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Helms], was added as cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 118, a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the portion of the street in the District of Columbia on which is located the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the portion of any street in any other city in the United States on which is located a consular office or mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, should be named Andrei Sakharov Avenue.

SENATE RESOLUTION 425—AU-THORIZING THE PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF A SENATE REPORT

Mr. JEPSEN submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 425

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Joint Economic Committee five hundred and fifteen additional copies of its Joint Committee print of the Ninety-eighth Congress, second session, entitled "Industrial Policy Movement in the United States: Is It the Answer?"

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

HYDROELECTRIC POWER PLANTS

METZENBAUM AMENDMENT NO. 3424

Mr. METZENBAUM proposed an amendment to amendment No. 3419 proposed by him to the House amendment to the bill (S. 268) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain hydroelectric powerplants at various existing water projects, and for other purposes; as follows:

At the end of the pending amendment No. 3419 add:

The appropriate committees of Congress are requested to conduct a full review of federal policies affecting the price of electricity generated by the Hoover Dam

Project and to report their fundings on or before July 1, 1986.

METZENBAUM AMENDMENTS NOS. 3425 THROUGH 3454

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. METZENBAUM submitted 30 amendments intended to be proposed by him to the House amendment to the bill S. 268, supra; as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 3425

At the end of the House Amendments add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Energy shall require the Western Area Power Marketing Administration to repay the Federal investment in its power and transmission projects to the Treasury by annual payments sufficient to amortize the debt, including principal and interest, on each project on a straight line basis within the service life of such project or 50 years, whichever period of time is shorter. The Secretary may waive the requirements of the preceding sentence only under exceptional economic conditions. If the Secretary does waive such requirements. any missed annual payment shall be repaid in the next succeeding year with interest equal to the average interest rate payable by the Treasury upon its total marketable public obligations as of September 30 of the fiscal year the payment was originally due.'

AMENDMENT No. 3426

At the end of schedule A of Section 105(a)(1)(A) insert the following, the allocation to the Southern California Edison Company is deleted. Further, Schedule A shall further be amended to increase the allocations to the other listed allottees on a pro rata basis.

AMENDMENT No. 3427

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; Provided, however, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1999."

AMENDMENT No. 3428

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; Provided, however, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1997."

AMENDMENT No. 3429

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; Provided, however, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1995."

AMENDMENT No. 3430

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; Provided, however, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1993."

AMENDMENT No. 3431

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effec-

tive upon the date of enactment; Provided, however, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1991."

AMENDMENT No. 3432

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, no contract authorized by this Act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1999."

AMENDMENT No. 3433

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1997."

AMENDMENT No. 3434

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1995."

AMENDMENT No. 3435

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1993."

AMENDMENT No. 3436

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1991."

AMENDMENT No. 3437

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than the average cost of power marketed by the Department of Energy through the Western Area Power Administration."

AMENDMENT No. 3438

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than 75 percent of the average cost of hydroelectric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3439

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than 75 percent of the average cost of electric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be re-

turned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3440

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than 50 percent of the average cost of electric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3441

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than the average cost of electric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3442

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1989: Provided That, on or after February 1, 1985 a commission shall be created to study and make recommendations to the Congress on the pricing of power from Federal hydroelectric facilities once those facilities have substantially repaid the original Federal investment in accordance with existing law.

The Commission shall consist of:

- (1) The Comptroller General;
- (2) The Secretary of Energy or his designee;
- (3) The Secretary of Treasury or his designee:
- (4) The Secretary of Interior or his designee;
- (5) The Director of O.M.B. or his designee;
 (6) Four business people with expertise and knowledge of energy issues, one each appointed by the Speaker of the House, the Majority Leader of the Senate, the Minority Leader of the House and the Minority

Leader of the Senate;
(7) Four representatives from the publicly owned utility industry, appointed in the manner described in paragraph (6); and

(8) Four representatives from environmental organizations appointed in the manner described in paragraph (6).

The Commission shall report its findings and recommendations by January 1, 1986.

AMENDMENT No. 3443

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, including this Act, the Secretary of Energy shall provide for surplus revenues by including the equivalent of 10 mills per kilowatthour in the rates charged to purchasers of power generated at Hoover Dam. Such surplus revenues shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3444

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, including this Act, the Secretary of Energy shall provide for surplus revenues by including the equivalent of 10 mills per kilowatthour in the rates charged to pur-

chasers of power generated at Hoover Dam. Such surplus revenues shall be transferred to the Secretary of the Interior and used for the purposes of Federal dam safety modifications in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Such dam safety modifications shall be for the purposes of dam safety and not for the specific purposes of providing additional conservation storage capacity or of developing benefits over and above those provided by the original dams and reservoirs."

AMENDMENT No. 3445

Strike section 103 of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3446

Strike section 102(A)(2) of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3447

Strike section 105(B) and add at the appropriate place: "Notwithstanding of any other provision, power resulting from the uprating program shall be sold by the Secretary through a process of competitive bidding."

AMENDMENT No. 3448

Amend section 105(h)(1) by striking "within one year" and inserting "within five years,".

AMENDMENT No. 3449

Strike section 109 of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3450

Strike section 102 of the House amend-

AMENDMENT No. 3451

At the end of schedule A of section 105(a)(1)(A) insert the following: "there is allocated to the city of San Diego a contingent capacity of 50,000 kilowatts and firm energy of 100,000 (thousand kilowatthours, both summer and winter): Provided further, that schedule A shall also be amended to reduce all other allocations on a pro rata basis."

AMENDMENT No. 3452

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987, at not less than 50 percent of the average cost of hydroelectric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3453

In section 201(a), delete the words "acting by and through the Western Area Power Administration (hereinafter "Western"),".

AMENDMENT No. 3454

Strike section 102(c) of the House amendment.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

MAINE MIA MEDAL AWARDS

• Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, tomorrow afternoon in Augusta, ME, a ceremony will take place that will extend to the families of our men still missing in Southeast Asia the honor and the recognition of their Nation for their sacrifice and their courage.

The distinguished former Secretary of State, Ed Muskie, will host a ceremony at which special commemorative medals will be presented to representatives of 10 Maine families whose sons, brothers, and husbands vanished in Southeast Asia.

The bitterness and division that rent our Nation over the Vietnam war is fading from the national memory today, as it should. But we should not allow the memory of our missing men to fade.

The families of MIA's and POW's have worked steadfastly and for many years to make sure that our memory of their men remains alive and that our efforts to discover their fate remain untiring.

The families of the missing have been the conscience of the Nation on this issue. Their dedication to that effort, as well as their sacrifice, are honored by the commemorative medals which Congress authorized last vear

The 19 men of Maine who never returned from Vietnam were boys born and raised in every part of our State—from Presque Isle to Portland. They were career officers and enlisted men alike. And all, officers and men, gave honorable service when their Nation called.

They and their families paid a high price through that service. They are owed no less than the heartfelt thanks of all Americans, and the honor that any Nation must give to those who run the ultimate risk in behalf of all.

I ask that the names and hometowns of these men appear in the Record following my remarks. They are men whose sacrifice we should honor and whose families deserve our respect for their fortitude and spirit.

The material follows:

NAMES AND FAMILY HOME TOWN

Air Force: Maj. George H. Jourdenais, Presque Isle; Col. Herbert O. Brennan, Damariscotta; Sgt. Edward J. Darcy, Gorham; and Lt. Col. Paul E. Getchell, Portland.

Army: Sgt. John H.R. Brooks, Peru; and Sgt. Richard C. Dority, Dover-Foxcroft.

Marines: Sgt. Peter G. Vlahakos, Auburn. Navy: LCDR Robert S. Graustein, Fryeburg; Lt. Malcolm A. Avore, Hallowell; Lt. Terence H. Hanley, Pittston; and EM2 Joseph T. Musetti, Mt. Desert.

FOUR GOOD REASONS FOR NATO

 Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I submit for the Record an article entitled "Four Good Reasons for Nato," written by David Abshire, U.S. Ambassador to NATO.

The article follows:

FOUR GOOD REASONS FOR NATO

The Times' superb series on the 35th anniversary of the Atlantic alliance is striking its recurrent emphasis on sustaining public support as the key to Nato's future. Critical to that support is the continued perception of the legitimacy-political, military and moral-of the alliance and its strat-

Ethics and nuclear weapons have become one of the most vibrant issues of our day. The outcome of that debate touches the future of the alliance, for the public must be convinced of the moral legitimacy if Nato's support is to be sustained.

The maturation of a new generation unscarred by the tragedies of two world wars. with the emergence of new currents of thought and opinion, is bringing Nato to a moral crossroads. There is, however, confusion over the germ "moral" that has made Nato advocates hesitant to enter the fray. On one side stand many political activists, some in the peace movements, who proclaim certain absolute moral positions and insist on their morality to the exclusion of all other factors. On the other side are active men of affairs who also view moral values as absolute but impractical-something postulated by clergy or educators, but not applicable to real world choices.

I say a plague on both their houses. Absolutism of either kind is not appropriate. Those who would take one issue-such as medium range missile deployment-and look at it out of context are too simplistic. Those who would moralize about absolute peace without ever studying the problems achieving real peace, or considering the threats to peace or the conduct of a potential adversary, are doing little to advance

the cause of peace.

Equally, those who believe moral considerations have no place in their decisions will not take long to discover that their cynicism is not shared and their policies not support-

The great theologians have known that absolutism doesn't work and that in the lives of nations, as distinguished from the lives of men, clear moral choice is more difficult because it is so much more ambiguous. This dilemma was identified by the Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr in the very title of his classic book, Moral Man and Immoral Society, St. Augustine of Hippo argued that until the city of God appeared, it was one's duty to further the city of man.

In foreign and security policy, only partial solutions are possible; one must constantly strike unsatisfactory balances—between compromise and security, between order and progress. That is the challenge Nato faces.

The two world wars and the immediate post-war experience that fostered Nato's birth conjured four new horsemen of the apocalypse: fears of nuclear war, of worldwide conventional war, of blackmail and coercion, and of human tyranny and bondage. Hiroshima, the Somme, Munich, Auschwitz embodies these spectres. The moral imperative became the prevention of their happening again. Nato must confront not just one of these evils but all four.

Each of these phantoms threatens the Judeo-Christian, multifaceted concept of peace which unfortunately has gone largely unaddressed by many in the "peace" movements and others in the debate. This notion of "peace" is an integrated balance of two traditional concepts-one reflected in the Hebrew word shalom and the other in the Latin word pax. Shalom implies a sense of

peace that relates to an individual's whole-

ness and health, security and prosperity in their fullest sense. Pax, on the other hand, connotes the peace of the ordered political community that makes living together possible. It has to do with order and stability.

The classical concept of peace, then, implies much more than the absence of war and the avoidance of war, more than a determination simply not to fight. It focuses on the creation of conditions in which individuals and societies can flourish and in which there are recognized limitations on the use of force.

Peace is a dynamic process in which we must be constantly and positively engaged. It is a multifaceted concept, encompassing both the individual and society. The only legitimate peace policy is one sacrifices freedom of the individual for the order of the state, nor ignores the threat to the state because it is consumed by the personal comfort of the people.

Because the threat to peace is multifaceted, absolute solutions will not work. They address only one dimension of the threat; they secure only one facet of the peace. Some people, for example, have suggested unilateral disarmament as the absolute solution. Such a policy may achieve our relief from the threat of nuclear or conventional war, but would it really relieve us from the threat of tyranny?

Our problem in securing a just defence and the basic moral ambiguity we must confront-is that all of our options are unattractive; there is no good choice. All involve some element of moral risk and the possibil-

ity of pain and suffering.

If moral absolutes are inappropriate, what does a just defence mean? St. Augustine defined some criteria as proportionality-that particular means must be in proper relation to desired ends. A second element is proper motivation. Just defence must also be adaptable to the world's constantly changing conditions that might generate new threats or reconfigure old ones. Therefore, just defence must be flexible.

I believe that the current Nato strategy of deterrence meets these criteria. Reinforcing deterrence is the best path for ensuring the

peace.

On the military side, reinforcing deterrence requires reducing the nuclear risk by improving Nato's conventional capabilities. thereby making flexible response truly flexible. Flexible response remains a good strategy-one of proportionality and legitimacy.

Nato's role, however, goes beyond the purely military. When Nato, in 1979, committed itself to the two-track approach, it recognized that arms control efforts must parallel military ones. Moreover, the Nato charter stresses that economic progress and economic cooperation are essential to achieve the individual and national wellbeing inherent in our concept of peace.

Until now, we have been talking about pax and just defence. Let us turn to shalom. Part of shalom relates to the dignity of the individual. Nato is a unique alliance of democracies. Since its creation, four states have joined. They did so not just because it was a way to enhance their security, but because they recognized and wanted to be associated with the values for which Nato stand. They wanted it to be known that their people, too, enjoy the freedom and justice that Nato secures.

Few people realize the role of the alliance as the coordinating centre for western positions on the Helsinki accords and the problems of human rights. The West's achievements at Madrid and its efforts at the follow up meeting in Stockholm have been possible only because of individual member nations' commitment to Nato's shared values and their steadfast cohesion during negotiations.

Finally, Nato has been unrelenting in its efforts to develop a contructive relationship with its potential adversaries. The legitimate pursuit of peace demands positive engagement, and Nato members have recognized that a posture of unremitting hostility toward the Soviet Union and its allies will not be productive in the long run. The alliance is currently exploring how best to define a long-term realistic approach to the East that avoids the ups and downs of false detente but that also diminishes tensions

and mutual suspicions.

Nato's goal is the deterrence of any war whether nuclear or conventional. The Atlantic alliance was created in the wake of the excesses of a world at war and gave hope that conflict would no longer be the final arbiter in the settlement of disputes between nations. The alliance may not be perfect, but it is unparalleled in its values and in its dedication to peace. Indeed, it has legitimacy and a strong moral basis. It surely provides the best possible means for sustaining the public consensus and securing a true peace.

THE DEPORTATION OF MICHAEL O'ROURKE

. Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I have cosponsored S. 2375 which would postpone the deportation of Michael O'Rourke for 6 months. Since Senator Specter introduced this bill in February, Mr. O'Rourke has returned to Ireland.

I have cosponsored this measure because I share Senator Specter's concern about the possibility that Mr. O'Rourke may have been denied the due process of law in his case. My cosponsorship of this bill is not intended to reflect support for Mr. O'Rourke's alleged activities in Ireland or reflect on what should or should not have been the final disposition in his deportation case before Immigration and Naturalization Service Administrative Law Judge Hupp.

Senator Specter's intent in introducing S. 2357 was to provide a vehicle for the Senate Judiciary Committee to hold hearings on allegations of possible wrongdoing in Mr. O'Rourke's case. These hearings are scheduled for July 30. It is my hope that all questions of impropriety relative to Mr. O'Rourke's case will be thoroughly aired and adequately answered in

these hearings.

H.R. 5798-TREASURY, POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

• Mr. MATTINGLY. Mr. President, on Wednesday, July 25, I was absent during the rollcall vote on final passage of the Treasury appropriations bill for fiscal year 1985 because I was in Atlanta taking part in a welcoming ceremony for the President of the United States. Had I been present for that vote, I would have voted "aye."

As a member of the Treasury Appropriations Subcommittee, I am very familiar with the efforts of its distinguished chairman, Senator Abdnor and its ranking member, Senator Senator DECONCINI. I commend my able colleagues and leaders on the subcommittee for their diligence and for the labor which they have expended on this legislation. They and the very able majority and minority subcommittee staff deserve special commendation in view of the fact that this is the first Treasury Appropriations bill to pass the Senate since 1979.

The discretionary spending authorized by this bill is right on target with the allocation approved by the full Appropriations Committee. The legislation strikes an appropriate balance between filling the legitimate budget needs of the agencies within its jurisdiction and yet is mindful of the important need to restrain the growth of

Federal spending.

I hope that this example of fiscal restraint is followed as we prepare to consider the remaining appropriation bills.

SUMMIT CONFERENCE ON **CYPRUS**

• Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, the situation in Cyrpus threatens the security of the United States, the integrity of the NATO alliance, and the safety and welfare of the people of Cyprus. In view of the dangers represented by the continuing illegal Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus, I urge President Reagan to take the lead in convening a summit conference of the affected nations. We need dramatic action to prevent the further unraveling of the key Western security relationship in the Eastern Mediterranean. A summit conference, on the magnitude of the Camp David summit which produced great progress in Israeli-Egyptian relations, would constitute a major U.S. contribution to the resolution of the Cyprus problem.

Ten years ago, on July 20, 1974, Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus. That action made a mockery of the treaties, charters and international laws that make possible peaceful coexistence among nations.

On March 28, 1984, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee marked up authorizing legislation for foreign military assistance. A key issue in the markup debate was discussion of U.S. frustrations over Turkey's continued occupation of one-third of the island of Cyprus. A bipartisan group of Senators expressed serious concern over the continuing presence of 20,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus soil, Turkish expenditures of over \$200 million a year to support an illegal presence in Cyprus while continuing to ask for increased U.S. military assistance, and the bad faith that has been shown by the leadership in Ankara and its protege, Mr. Rauf Denktash in occupied Cyprus.

In an effort to facilitate the negotiation process. Senator BIDEN and I. with the strong support of Chairman Percy, introduced an amendment to the military assistance authorization for Turkey. This amendment conditioned \$216 million in grant military assistance upon Presidential certification that the deserted, formerly Greek-Cypriot city of Famagusta-Varosha had been returned to the Government of Cyprus for resettlement of refugees. The amendment also cut foreign military sales credits and guarantees for Turkey by \$25 million.

We cannot forget that over 200,000 Greek Cypriots are still displaced, unable to return to their homes. Nearly 2,000 Cypriots were needlessly killed, and the survivors are experiencing a cultural death, as every trace of Cypriot life and customs are systematically replaced with Turkish standards. Turkey and the world must know that America does not support, especially with money and arms, human rights violations, wanton invasions or oppressive regimes anywhere in the world.

I urge my distinguished colleagues to renew our commitment to a democratic Cyprus and the initiation of a fair and peaceful solution to the conflicts in that nation. My wish is that there will not be a need to commemorate this day with sadness again.

This 10th anniversary is an excellent opportunity for the United States to strengthen the southeastern flank of NATO by enacting legislation supporting good faith negotiations for the reunification of the sovereign nation of Cyprus. It is also an opportune time for the United States to organize a summit conference on Cyprus.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF ST. MICHAEL'S UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

• Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, the year 1984 marks the centennial celebration of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Shenandoah, PA.

St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, founded in 1884, was the first Greek Catholic Parish in America. The ancestors of St. Michael's parishioners came to this great Nation from Eastern Europe between 1860 and 1870, with the hope of finding a better way of life. Upon their arrival, they first settled in Massachusetts and Vermont; some years later they settled in Pennslyvania, which was, and remains, the home of many Ukrainians.

Joseph Zoliak was the first immigrant to settle in the Shenandoah area of Pennsylvania-the present home of St. Michael's. The first settlers wanted

a church of their own where they could worship in their "mother tongue" according to their own rites and beliefs. Their prayers were answered on October 24, 1884, when the Reverend John Walainsky was appointed as the first Greek Catholic priest in America. His first service was held on December 18, 1884, at Kern Hall in Shenandoah. By 1885, the newly settled immigrants were able to purchase two buildings on the north side of Centre Street in Shenandoah. Father Walainsky blessed the first Greek Catholic Church on this site on November 21, 1886. During the following years, the congregation grew rapidly, and soon there was a need for a larger church. In 1907, a plot of ground on Oak and Chestnut Streets in Shenandoah was purchased. One year later, the church and rectory were built, and the first Liturgy was celebrated on Palm Sunday in 1909.

Recently, the parishioners of St. Michael's have been forced to rebuild their house of worship, because on the morning of April 7, 1980, the church and its rectory, with all of their priceless antiques, religious art, and icons, were completely destroyed by fire. After this devastating fire, the present pastor, Father John Bura, along with the parishioners, made immediate preparations to transform the church hall on West Central Street to an interim church. In August 1982, construction of the present church was started, and on November 27, 1983, the blessing of the cornerstone and the first Liturgy were held at the new St.

Michael's.

Today, 100 years later, St. Michael's remains the place of worship where the faithful parishioners can honor

God in their own way.

On this 100th anniversary of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, I am honored to extend my sincere congratulations and best wishes to my Ukrainian-American friends and fellow Pennsylvanians. I thank you for making Shenandoah, PA, your home.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

HYDROELECTRIC POWERPLANTS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the pending business. The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Metzenbaum Amendment No. 3419 to the House amendment to S. 268, an act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain hydroelectric powerplants at various existing projects, and for other purposes.

Mr. HECHT addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescind-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. HECHT. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescind-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays in connection with the amendment I have pending at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered. AMENDMENT NO. 3424

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio (Mr. METZENBAUM) proposes an amendment numbered 3424 to amendment numbered 3419.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the pending amendment No. 3419, add: The appropriate committees of Congress are requested to conduct a full review of Federal policies affecting the price of electricity generated by the Hoover Dam Project, and to report their findings on or before July 1, 1986.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I think we should understand what the situation is on the floor at the moment.

Last evening, I sent to the desk an amendment, in connection with which I have asked for the yeas and nays, which was intended to cover the matters that were addressed by my distinguished colleague from California, who pointed out all the reasons why we need other matters that are in the bill having to do with upgrading of the Hoover Dam.

The Senator from Ohio made it clear when he addressed this body yesterday that my issue or my concerns were not with those provisions. As a matter of fact, I think they were writ-

Mr. HECHT. I suggest the absence ten as provided in the House bill, and I support them. They provide for the payment in full of the costs of the upgrading, and I think that is appropriate, and I certainly do not want to stand in the way of that.

There are two other parts to the bill that I want to talk about. One has to do with the matter of allocation. Who gets the power? At the present time, certain residents of California and the people in the States of Nevada and Arizona have the opportunity to buy the power, and no one else.

As a matter of fact, it was rather interesting to me yesterday when the former mayor of San Diego took the floor to indicate his support for this measure. I have in my hand an editorial from the San Diego Union, which comes to exactly the contrary position, because the people of San Diego are being discriminated against. That editorial, which I will see fit to read at a later point, makes it very clear that they feel that they are getting the short end of the stick, while the favored few who are provided for in this bill are able to purchase the power.

Who can purchase the power now? The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, the city of Los Angeles, the Southern California Edison Co., the city of Glendale, the city of Pasadena, the city of Burbank, the Arizona Power Authority, the Colorado River Commission of Nevada, and the United States for Boulder City.

That has to do with the power that is presently being generated. It is obvious that if you are not one of those favored few, you do not get those bene-

Mr. President, I am not here on the floor to challenge that allocation, although I may return at a later point and offer an amendment to permit San Diego to be included, because I certainly would not want to deprive a fine community such as San Diego of the right to buy power in the same manner as the other people of California are purchasing it. As a matter of fact, it is not at all unlikely that at some point such an amendment will be offered.

However, let me come back to my amendment at this time, because that is the point I wish to emphasize to my colleagues. All we say here is that, notwithstanding any other provision, all provisions of this bill shall become effective upon the date of enactment. Then we have a proviso, and there is only one proviso: Provided, however, that no section of this bill on the Boulder Canyon Project Act of 1928 regarding the price of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after May 31, 1987—which, I should point, is the date that is presently in the law. So all we are saying is that you can have everything else in the bill, except the pricing, and we do not believe that we ought to lock in the pricing for 30

Before the debate on this bill concludes, I will point out that in one of the prominent publications of this country, it is pointed out that under this legislation, the people who have the privilege of buying the power will be paying the same rate for power from the Hoover Dam in the year 2017 that people were paying in the year 1937.

How absurd can you get? Inflation between 1937 and 2017 will have gone sky high. The costs have been escalating. It is fair to say that this bill does provide that the users will pay for the cost of operation and maintenance. But in spite of that, they will be paying at the same rate in the year 2017 as they were paying in 1937.

Some of my colleagues saw fit yesterday to vote against my proposed amendment, and I should like to discuss with them what they are doing to their own communities. What they are doing to their own communities is saying, "Look, it's all right for the United States to make power available for a half-cent for a kilowatt hour while the rest of the country pays a rate 13 times that amount, or 6.5 cents per kilowatt hour."

It is fair to say that not every community pays the same-some are higher, some lower. But the average rate, according to the Congressional Research Service, is 6.5 cents per kilowatt hour.

How can you possibly justify permitting people to buy power for a halfcent per kilowatt hour? This I want to say to some of my colleagues who have seen industry leave their communities and go to Nevada and go to Arizona and go to California because power can be bought in those areas for a half cent or one-thirteenth the rate that local industry has to pay. What possible justification can you have with respect to that kind of discrimination against the individual who buys power for his or her own home, or how can you justify it to your local chamber of commerce when they tell you that XYZ Co., is going to Nevada or Arizona or California because they can buy power there so much cheaper and that is a major factor in the cost of their doing business? What logical reason? How could you answer that? I submit to my colleagues that there is no way to answer that question.

It is an unfair discriminatory practice that is being jammed through the Senate. When I say "jammed through," let me point out what I am saying. A cloture motion was filed in connection with this matter approximately 4 hours after the debate started on it; 4 hours after. Nobody said anything about a filibuster. But, no. we have to get this bill through. I do not know why. The whole issue does not become a reality until May 31, 1987. We have more than enough time to deal with it before then. But, no, we have to jam it through.

Is it because it is an election year? Is it because certain special Members of this body are demanding that this leg-

islation be passed?

I for one do not know, nor do I really care, because I believe it is the responsibility of the Senate to defeat this proposal, and I would hope that instead of defeating the bill, which I am not asking you to do, that you would see fit to adopt the amendment that I have pending as well as the seconddegree amendment which would in effect provide nothing more than that the appropriate committees of Congress under the second-degree amendment are requested to conduct a full review of Federal policies affecting the price of electricity generated by the Hoover Dam project and to report their findings on or before July 1,

What could be more reasonable? The first part of the amendment provides that you can have the entire bill except for the pricing; the second part merely provides that the appropriate committees of Congress will study the issue and report back to Congress their findings before July 1, 1986, which would give Congress between July 1, 1986 and May 31, 1987 to deal with the issue.

The Senator from Ohio has attempted to present this matter in a reasonable way. It is not a political matter, except for the fact that the effort is being made to jam it through. But absent that I would be the first to recognize that there are prominent members of my party and prominent members of the other party who support this legislation as well as prominent members of both parties who oppose it

The San Francisco Chronicle, a conservative paper, serving that community and a major factor in California, had an editorial on this subject and I would like to share the contents of that editorial. In fact, there are three papers in California that have editorialized on this subject. And I want to point out that they go further than the Senator from Ohio is advocating. They go to the point of having the power auctioned. I am not standing here proposing that. I am merely saying let us see what the fair rates should be that are to be charged.

The San Francisco Chronicle editorial entitled "South vs. North On Hoover Power":

A bill that reeks of a musty agreement made in years long past allocating power generated by water from the Hoover Dam comes before the House of Representatives for action this week. Since it has to do with water and with cut-rate power, it is heavily favored by certain southern California interests. But it will affect us here in the North, too. It seems to us there is no reason

to perpetuate the truly outmoded ways the measure embodies.

This situation has been laid out in elegant and penetrating fashion by writer Harold Gilliam in the Sunday columns of this newspaper. His view deserves reemphasis, the old contract provisions permit Hoover Power to be sold at far below the market price. The original purpose of the cheap energy was to promote growth in southern California, "perhaps a valid goal half a century ago," as Gilliam said, "but one that is scarcely tenable now that the region has grown to the point of strangulation."

The measure now before Congress extends the old contract as if the past 50 years had never happened. It constitutes a munificent benefit for the original contractors and those who were in on the ground floor like the metropolitan water district of southern California, or "MET", which used Hoover energy to pump Colorado River water to southern California.

Not surprisingly, some California utilities, like San Diego Gas and Electric, that were not in the original deal, say they would like to make a handsome bid for some Hoover

What strikes home is that the "MET" will be getting the right to pump more northern California water south by using cheap energy from Hoover. Thus, the Federal Government will be in effect subsidizing the draining of northern California to further the growth of a population-bloated southland.

This shocking measure has been approved by the Senate and has log-rolling momentum in the House.

And then it goes on to refer to Representative BARBARA BOXER'S efforts in the House and that they support it.

I want to point out that I am not at that point where I support the auctioning off of the power. I do think that we might consider whether or not we want to make the power available to San Diego because I would be curious to know how the people from California feel about why some parts of California should be favored and others not.

Let me point out, this is a Federal dam having to do with a Federal river, built by Federal taxpayers' dollars; the region has leased that facility for 50 years. It paid for construction of the dam through utility rates under terms of the lease. Now they want to renew the lease on a Federal facility and the question before us is how much should the Government charge the customers for the power generated from this dam under a new lease.

I stand here on the floor and tell you I do not know the answer. I am not sure of the answer. But I believe that Congress would be irresponsible if we did not make some determination in connection with this subject.

Let me point out again if the people in these three States and the industry and the private utilities in these three States can buy power at one-thirteenth the going rate, then every Senator in this body can look forward to more and more industry leaving his or her State and moving to this area

where they can buy this power at such a reduced rate.

We have a \$200 billion deficit and I am not saying how much we ought to be getting from this facility. In one editorial it was pointed out this we will lose \$6 billion by reason of the passage of this bill. Other sources have indicated we would lose \$3.5 billion and that over a relatively short period of time.

But why, why should we be selling power to some specially favored people in this country from a federally built facility at rates so low that they provide unfair competition for the rest of

the States in this country.

I do not understand how some of my colleagues who did not vote with me yesterday could explain to their constituents this kind of special privilege, this kind of favoritism that would come about if this measure is enacted without the amendment that I have proposed.

The San Diego Union newspaper addressed itself to this issue and they talked about the power giveaway. They wrote the editorial on April 13 of this year in which they said:

The Hoover Dam may be a monument to modern engineering, but contracts negotiated 50 years ago to cover the sale of its hydroelectric power are a monument to wasteful energy policy. The House of Representatives will vote soon on extending the contracts for another 30 years. The bill should be defeated.

A Federal Government so starved for funds that its deficits are threatening the economic recovery is selling power from the Hoover Dam at giveaway prices. The loss to the Government could amount to as much as \$6 billion during the next decade.

Hoover Dam power is being sold for about a half cent per kilowatt hour, compared with the price range of 2 to 7 cents for electricity purchased elsewhere in the Southwest. Underpricing electricity to such an extent discourages conservation and is patently unfair to utility customers, including San Diegans who do not happen to be served by one of the utilities eligible to buy the power.

As a privately owned utility, San Diego Gas & Electric Co. stands at the end of the line among prospective purchasers of Hoover Dam power. Government agencies and publicly owned utilities have first call on it, and because they are eager to buy all the bargain power they can get, there is no chance S.D.G.&E.'s number will ever come

House Resolution 4275, due for a vote soon, would perpetuate this discriminatory state of affairs. The House should reject the measure and instead instruct the Western Area Power Administration to auction Hoover Dam power to competitive bidders when the present contracts expire in 1987. S.D.G.&E. could then bid for power that could be brought to San Diego via the link to the East now being built.

The Government does not make sweetheart deals with companies that want to produce oil, gas, and minerals from public lands. It opens these resources to production through leases awarded on the basis of competitive bids. The Hoover Dam and its output of electric power should receive the same treatment. Let the market determine

the value of its energy, and let the country as a whole benefit from the revenue the Hoover Dam can earn.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. KASTEN]. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HECHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HECHT. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio has offered another dilatory amendment to this legislation. It is not realistic to suggest that 15 million electric ratepayers should invest another \$77 million in Hoover Dam if they cannot be assured of the price for that power beyond 1988.

I ask my colleagues: would any of you support legislation calling for the construction of a dam, or a bridge, or a highway, or a sewer treatment plant, that required 100 percent non-Federal financing but did not specify what the price for their use of the facility would be after it was completed? Of course

What the Senator from Ohio is really getting at is this: he thinks the Federal Government should earn a profit on the sale of power from Hoover Dam. He professes concern about the size of the Federal deficit.

Let me remind my colleagues that the improvements authorized under S. 268 will be entirely financed by the power users. This is the largest Federal hydro project in history to be financed by non-Federal funds. It will not increase the size of the deficit one bit.

The gist of his arguments are: he wants the Federal Government to earn a profit on the sale of Hoover power. Do any of my colleagues really support this concept? Do we want to earn a profit on power sold by the other Federal power marketing agencies? Federal power is sold at cost in 35 States across this land-I repeat, 35 States across this land.

Do we want to earn a profit on our investment in the Interstate Highway System? How about the lock and canal systems operated by the Corps of Engineers? How about flood control. sewer treatment, or public housing? Why shouldn't the Federal Government earn a profit on every dime it spends on improving the infrastructure of this great country? Let us ask ourselves these questions. The Government's profit in these investments should only be measured by the improved quality of life it brings our citizens and taxpayers.

Again, I urge my colleagues to support the enactment of this bill. Let us get on with the business of the Senate. S. 268 is a good bill, a sound bill, a bill that has been passed once by this body

and the House of Representatives. It is too late to go back to the drawing board, particularly the Senator from Ohio's drawing board. I urge the defeat of his amendment.

I would like to respond to the statement by the Senator from Ohio that power rates from Hoover Dam will be the same in the year 2017 as it was in

1937.

This is totally untrue. The price for Hoover power is calculated in such a way that the ratepayers will reimburse the Federal Government for the capital costs it has invested in the construction and upkeep of the dam. The price also reflects the cost of operation and maintenance of the dam.

This price changes every year. It is true that the cost of constructing Hoover Dam will be fully repaid in 1987. It cost \$160 million to build the dam in 1937. However, many other investments have been made since 1937. Dams do not last forever. Parts get old and need to be replaced. Today's price and the post-1987 price will reflect the cost of these more recent investments. This bill, for example, provides for an additional \$77 million of investment in Hoover Dam.

Just this year, Hoover rates were raised roughly 30 percent to cover the increased cost of operation and maintenance. Rates will go up again before 1987, probably by another 30 percent. Finally, this legislation will require that rates go up even higher-by another 30 to 50 percent. So it is absurd to say that the rate is the same today as it was in 1937.

The Senator from Ohio implies that power rates in the Southwest are dirtcheap. This is not true.

The average price of power in Nevada-of which the Hoover power is only a small part-is roughly 6 cents per kilowatt hour. Southern California's power rates are some of the highest in the Nation, over 8 cents. These rates are comparable-and in many cases higher-than they are in the State of Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I have to say to my good friend and colleague from Las Vegas that I am afraid he has not read my amendment because if he had read my amendment, he would certainly be in no position to say that it is dilatory, because dilatory means that it is just a stall, that it has no meaning, that it is just fun and games.

My amendment totally obviates and negates the entire impact of the speech that my colleague just made. My colleague talked about the improvements being financed by the users. I am not taking issue with that.

If you read my amendment, you will find that I will accept that part of your legislation. That part of your legislation is fine with me, and that is exactly what I am trying to say. We are talking about two separate subjects.

And if you paid attention to what I had written in the amendment and my opening remarks, I say very clearly that, notwithstanding any other provision, all provisions of this bill shall become effective upon date of enactment. That takes care of all the upgrading. That is the point to which you were speaking, and I have here provided for that. And the only thing that the proviso refers to has to do with the price of power generated by the Hoover Dam as is, the old part of the Hoover Dam.

So I just point out to the Senator that he is addressing himself to the question of the improvements, and we are not in disagreement. I am in favor of the people of that area paying for the improvements. I think that is a good part of the bill. So my amendment specifically covers that. Therefore, I cannot for the life of me understand how the Senator could rise to the floor and say I am giving you 80 percent or 90 percent of your total package, and that the amendment is dilatory. If anything, it is concession-ary. It is giving the Senator that which he wants-the opportunity to make the improvements.

With respect to the matter of what are the fair rates they are after, I am not saying anything there that the Senator can find any fault with. The Senator is trying to say that the rates should be locked in for 30 years. I am saying that does not make good economic sense. It does not make good policy. And it is an unreasonable approach.

In Business Week magazine of April 16, 1984, they have an article head-lined "Why Hoover Dam's 'Dirt Cheap' Power May Stay in the Hands of a Few." They then have a little box in the story which tells the story totally. It says, "The new contract will keep the average base price of Hoover power at 1937 prices until 2017.

Can the Senator tell me any reason why the people of this country should be selling power to the casinos located in Nevada at prices that were set in 1937 when nobody even thought the casinos were going to be built? And I would guess that somehow, if they scrimped, saved, turned down the lights a bit, and did everything else to economize, those casinos would be able to afford a price higher than a half a cent per kilowatt hour.

Maybe they changed the odds. Maybe they do something else. Maybe they do not cover the tables with the green felt as often. But there is not any logical reason for the rest of the country to subsidize those casinos in their purchase of power, nor any more reason for the rest of the country to subsidize the privately owned utility companies, or any other utility company, or the people of those three States to the disadvantage of the rest of the Nation.

The Business Week article states it well. They start off with a little box indicating at the very beginning—

For sale: More than 1,300 megawatts of hydroelectric power. Priced unbelievably low. Plenty of room for growth. Contact Western Area Power Administration, c/o Hoover Dam.

End of the box.

Business Week then goes on to say:

That sort of advertisement would draw plenty of responses if it were placed in newspapers across the West. But WAPA, as the Federal power marketing agency is known, need not bother. The Reagan administration and the States of California, Arizona, and Nevada are about to reach an agreement that will continue to restrict the towering dam's prodigious output to municipal and other public power systems until 2017. The average price of the Federal power, an incredible 0.3 cents per kilowatthour about the same as the public systems have been paying for 47 years, and only 3.5 of the wholesale cost of commercially generated electricity in the region.

Electricity from the dam, which straddles the Colorado River along the Arizona-Nevada border, "is dirt cheap power—that's all there is to it," says Ronald K. Greenhalgh. WAPA's Assistant Administrator. The Agency's clients—who serve 10 million consumers—are pleased. "For the next 30 years, the present Hoover Dam customers will know exactly what they are getting. God and weather permitting," says Edward Weinberg, whose law firm of Duncan, Weinberg & Miller represents public power systems in Nevada.

Environmentalists, meanwhile, say that maintaining WAPA's bargain rates will only encourage consumption—and thus force utilities into unnecessary construction of fossil-fuel or nuclear generating plants when demand outstrips Hoover's supply. "Underpricing of Hoover Dam's power," says Thomas J. Graff, an environmental defense fund attorney, "will lead to a waste of energy." Adds Peter F. Cowhey, a political scientist at the University of California at San Diego and a member of the city's energy advisory board: "The Federal Government is undermining the growth of a rational interstate power system by distorting the pricing system."

Opponents of the Hoover power agreement also charge that the Federal Government is shortchanging itself. "What they should have done is to offer the power on an openbidding basis," says Cowhey. Indeed the difference between Hoover's current selling costs and commercial rates will amount to \$7 billion between 1990 and 1997 alone says Attorney Graff. . . .

Under terms of the agreement between California, Nevada and Arizona, the average base price of Hoover power will remain at 0.3 cents per kilowatt per hour although surcharges levied to pay for several water projects will raise the average for some customers to close to 0.8 cents. Still, Hoover power will be an undeniable bargain. The Los Angeles Water & Power Department which expects to obtain 8 percent of its needs from Hoover this year at a cost of 0.2 cents per kilowatt per hour estimates that it would cost \$40 million to replace that power with electricity generated from oil, natural gas or other fuels. . . .

At the same time, the issue of Federal power sales is coming under scrutiny nationwide. Through its five power-marketing administrations which manage some \$75 billion in Federal investment, the Energy Department acts as a wholesaler for about 6 percent of all the electricity generated in the U.S. The President's private sector survey on cost control—popularly known as the Grace Commission—has recommended the "defederalization" of power marketing through sales of the systems to private entities. The panel has also backed more rapid recovery of Government spending on power projects, and claims that application of "sound business principles" would yield a \$390 million-a-year windfall for Washington.

I would like to add parenthetically at this point that everybody, here, including the President of the United States, talks about the 2,450 suggestions that were made by the Grace Commission. And everybody talks about the fact that we have to do business in a more businesslike way as a government. Well, the buck stops here. The ball is in your court. That is what this issue is all about. Should the Federal Government favor some few people in this country to the disadvantage of the Federal Treasury and give away power at one-thirteenth the average paid by the rest of the people in this country, or should this Congress accept its responsibility as was provided in the legislation 50 years ago for us to deal with the issue.

We are not dealing with the issue. We are running away from the issue, if we just renew this contract for another 30-year term.

The Business Week article says that the changes that the Grace Commission was talking about are not likely to occur soon. They go on to say, despite its free-market leanings, the Reagan administration is unwilling to tangle with the public power lobby in Washington or with Western water and power interests.

The administration can count votes just like everybody else, observes Attorney Weinberg. As long as the water and power lobbies retain their strong voice, power projects like Hoover will be among the great bargains well into the 21st century.

Mr. President, the issue is before us. I would like my colleagues who are interested in this subject to know that the Senator from Ohio, with respect to whom an attempt is being made to shut down debate, is not trying to drag this matter out an unnecessarily long time. I will very shortly indicate that I am prepared to bring this matter to a vote in connection with my amendment. So if anyone in the Senate wishes to be heard on the issue, I do not want to cut them off, but I do believe that this body ought to move forward. It has much business on its agenda. I am prepared to move forward with the second vote in connection with this matter within a period of less than 24 hours.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, there are not many Members on the floor of the Senate at this moment, but there seems to be some confusion between the amendment that I offered yesterday and the amendment that I am offering today.

When this issue was before the Senate yesterday, it was indicated that the Consumer Federation of America was against the amendment. Frankly, that concerned me, because I yield to no Member of this body in having a better record with that body, being a strong advocate for consumers in this country.

So I take the floor at this time and I hope that my colleagues whose squawkboxes are on will take note of what I am about to say.

The Consumer Federation of America does have a position in opposition to market-based price fixing. They were opposed to the Boxer amendment.

The Senator from Ohio has made it clear on several occasions that I am not on the floor to suggest, and have not suggested, that we go to the point of the Boxer amendment with respect to market price costs.

With respect to my amendment yesterday and my amendment today, the Consumer Federation of America has no position. They have taken no position for it nor have they taken a position in opposition.

Since I know so many of my colleagues are concerned about their record as being friends of the American consumer, and properly so, I thought the Record ought to be set straight that the Consumer Federation of America had no position with respect to the amendment I offered yesterday, either for or against, and they have no position with respect to the amendment which is pending.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I listened with interest to the remarks of the Senator from Ohio with respect to the position of the Consumer Federation of America on the pricing formula for electricity that may come from a Federal installation, in this case specifically the Hoover Dam.

I do not know what the position of the Consumer Federation of America is. I do note for the RECORD at this time that the statement before the Senate with respect to what their position was came from the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. Cranston]. I note that he is not on the floor at this time, and whatever comment he would like to make with respect to the remarks of the Senator from Ohio will have to be his.

Mr. METZENBAUM. The Senator from Ohio certainly was not imputing the integrity or claiming any misrepresentation on the part of the Senator from California. I think it was logical for him to say that they did oppose the Boxer amendment, which is a fact. But I felt it important that we clarify they are not for or against yesterday's amendment or today's.

Mr. McCLURE. I say to the Senator from Ohio that I have no knowledge whether they are or are not. I do not know whether the Senator from Ohio is correctly stating their position, or Senator CRANSTON is, or if indeed there is an ambiguity.

Mr. METZENBAUM. I advise my colleagues that I just spoke with Mr. Steven Brobach, who is the executive

director of that organization. Mr. McCLURE. All I am trying to say is I have no personal knowledge of their position. I do not know whether the Senator from Ohio is correct or the Senator from California is correct. But since the Senator from California who made the statement is not on the floor, I thought it appropriate to at least note his absence from the floor and his inability to respond at this time.

I suggest the absence of a quorum, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk and ask that it be stated by the clerk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion, having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows: CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Baker motion to concur in the House amendments to S. 268, the Hoover Power-plant Act of 1984.

Senators Howard Baker, Ted Stevens, Chic Hecht, Daniel J. Evans, Bob Kasten, Pete Wilson, Barry Goldwater, Jake Garn, John Tower, James Abdnor, Jeremiah Denton, John P. East, Paul Trible, Roger W. Jepsen, Malcolm Wallop, Mark Andrews, Steve Symms, and James A. McClure.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the vote on this measure will occur on Tuesday under the rules unless other arrangements are made or unless cloture is invoked on Monday on the vote pursuant to the first cloture motion which was filed

Mr. President, I know of no further debate on this measure today and if any Senator seeks recognition for that purpose I will yield the floor. Otherwise, I am going to put the Senate in a period for the transaction of routine morning business.

ANTITRUST/R&D

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, will the majority leader be good enough to yield?

Mr. BAKER. I yield.

Mr. METZENBAUM. This is on a to-

tally different subject.

The majority leader has indicated at some point he wishes to bring up the R&D bill. The Senator from Ohio has had some differences on it. We are in agreement now.

I only wish to get the majority leader's thinking as to when he expects to bring that up.

Mr. BAKER. Yes. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Ohio for bringing the matter up and also for working out the complex details of the arrangement that I understand has now been agreed to by those who have signified a major interest in the bill, especially the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. President, it is my intention to ask the Senate to turn to that measure on Monday. It is my hope we can do it in a very brief time, perhaps even by unanimous consent. But it is the intention of the leadership on this side to ask the Senate to turn to that bill on Monday.

Mr. METZENBAUM. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator from Ohio.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business to extend not past the hour of 4 p.m. in which Senators may speak for not more than 10 minutes each, with the exception of the two leaders, against whom no time limitation shall apply.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that if the Senate adjourns today, when it reconvenes on Monday, July 30, the reading of the Journal be dispensed with; that no resolutions come over under the rule; that the call of the calendar be dispensed with; and that following the recognition of the two leaders, under the standing order, there be a special order in favor of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Prox-MIREl for not to exceed 15 minutes, to be followed by a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not more than 15 minutes in length in which Senators may speak for not more than 2 minutes each; and provided, further, that the morning hours be deemed to have expired.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 4 P.M., MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in adjournment until the hour of 4 p.m. on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, there are a few matters that appear to be cleared for action by unanimous consent.

I ask the minority leader if he is prepared to proceed on some of them, and let me first identify Calendar Order No. 1068, which is Senate Joint Resolution 272

Mr. BYRD. There is no objection.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, in view of that, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate Calendar Order No. 1068.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. BYRD. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated by title. The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 272) recognizing the anniversaries of the Warsaw uprising and the Polish resistance to invasion of Poland during World War II.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution and preamble are as follows:

S.J. RES. 272

Whereas August 1, 1984, marks the fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, an event of major significance in the history of World War II:

Whereas on August 1, 1944, the Polish Home Army under the command of Tedeusz Bor-Komorowski rose up against the Nazis who had begun evacuating Warsaw in the face of the Soviet advance through Eastern Europe, held major portions of the city for sixty-three days against insuperable odds, and suffered extreme hardship, retribution, and personal sacrifice throughout a heroic engagement in which approximately two hundred and fifty thousand Poles killed, wounded, or missing;

Whereas September 1, 1984, marks the forty-fifth anniversary of the invasion of Poland by the Army and Air Force of the Third Reich, which was followed just sixteen days later by the Soviet invasion from the East and the subsequent occupation of a zone populated by thirteen million Poles, these events having led to the development of a strong underground movement directed by the Polish Government in exile;

Whereas the three wartime leaders of the Polish Home Army, Lieutenant General Stefan Rowecki, murdered by the Gestapo in 1944, Lieutenant General Bor-Komorowski, imprisoned by the Nazis and died in London in 1966, and Major General Leopold Okulicki, imprisoned by the Soviets and perished in a Soviet jail in 1945, symbolize the supreme personal sacrifice and commitment to the cause of freedom and self-determina-

tion:

Whereas the spirit of Polish resistance to foreign oppression and domination is symbolized by these historic events and remains a vital element in the Polish national character as manifested by the emergence of the Solidarity Trade Union movement in 1980;

Whereas, in prior years, the President has granted special recognition to these important days in Polish history, with particular regard to the crucial role of the Polish Home Army in the Allied war effort, and to the leaders of the Polish Home Army: Now,

therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States joins in recognizing the anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, which stands as a poignant reminder to the world of the power of the human spirit over adversity, and the anniversary of the Polish resistance to the World War II invasion of Poland and the leaders of that resistance, which symbolizes the currently continuing struggle of the Polish people and freedom loving people everywhere in the preserva-tion of their liberties and in fulfillment of their national aspirations.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

CONDEMNING THE CLOSING OF ABC COLOR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, may I say to the minority leader I am prepared now to call up House Concur-

rent Resolution 331, which is Calendar Order No. 1070, if there is no objec-

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, there is no objection on this side.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate Calendar Order No. 1070.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the resolution by title. The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 331) to condemn the closing of ABC Color, the only independent newspaper in Paraguay, and to urge the Government of Paraguay to permit the reopening of that newspaper and to guarantee freedom of the press.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the

concurrent resolution.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in support of this resolution condemning the Paraguayan Government's closing of the newspaper ABC Color. Last March, in a blatant attack against Paraguay's only independent newspaper, agents of the 30-year-old regime of President Alfredo Stroessner jailed its brave publisher, Aldo Zuccolillo, closed down the newspaper, ransacked its offices, and threw its 400 employees out of work. A brave radio station that protested the closing was itself closed for 30 days

that understand General Stroessner is perplexed that the closing of a newspaper has aroused such criticism around the world. Indeed, the closing has raised the ire of the Department of State, the Inter-American Press Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Newspaper Guild, and now a bipartisan assemblage of Members of the House and Senate. Perhaps, the closing will serve a positive purpose. Perhaps it will awaken the Paraguayan Government to the fact that the movement within that country for a more open and democratic society is supported by a great body of international public opinion. A free press is essential to the achievement of that

I fervently hope that the Government of Paraguay heeds the call from all of those concerned as well as from this resolution which urges it to permit the reopening of ABC Color and to guarantee freedom of the press.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, ABC Color was a popular, independent newspaper in Paraguay for 15 years before the government of General Alfredo Stroessner ordered it to be closed last March 22. The government alleged the newspaper was subverting public order. At first thought, the si-lencing of this paper in the remote reaches of the Southern Hemisphere may not seem important to us. Yet,

the closing of ABC Color has generated editorial comment in major newspapers across the United States. All urge that this paper be allowed to resume publication.

I have asked that House Concurrent Resolution 331 be brought up today under unanimous-consent agreement. This resolution, approved by the House of Representatives on June 29. condemns the closing of ABC Color and urges the Government of Para-guay to permit the reopening of that newspaper and guarantee freedom of the press. In approving this resolution, we would be joining the administration, as well as the House of Repesentatives, in voicing our Government's opposition to the closing of ABC Color. U.S. Ambassador Arthur H. Davis has repeatedly expressed the U.S. concern, and the State Department has informed Paraguayan Government officials that the closing of ABC Color will continue to be an important issue between us.

Approval of this resolution by the Senate would give timely assistance to other efforts on hehalf of ABC Color. President Stroessner agreed to meet on June 22 with a delegation from the Inter-American Press Association. The meeting was described as cordial. Attached to my statement is an account of the interview with President Stroessner which was written by one of the IAPA participants, Edward Seaton of Seaton Publications, Manhattan, KS. At that time President Stroessner did not close the door on further consideration of the ABC Color issue, leading the delegation to hope that arrangements might be made whereby the paper could resume

publication. Mr. President, the great majority of Senators represent a State which is linked in a special relationship with an individual country in the Caribbean region, Central or South America. Under the well-known Partners of the Americas Program, Kansas has long enjoyed a very active friendship with its partner, Paraguay. This October, Partners of the Americas, a people-topeople program created under the Alliance for Progress, celebrates its 20th anniversary of hard work and accomplishments by the 54 partnerships.

Due to Kansas' partnership with Paraguay, we take a special interest in ABC Color, and I have been pleased to work in the Senate toward approval of House Concurrent Resolution 331. I ask unanimous consent that a few recent editorials on ABC Color be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, members of the journalistic community take quite seriously the obligation to support their colleagues in other countries where freedom of the press is denied or under siege. This commitment is sorely needed and sets a high standard for other professions that are concerned about human rights and democratic institutions. I hope that journalists will continue to be actively involved in the battle for freedom of the press throughout the hemisphere.

Ехнівіт 1

[From the Manhattan (KS) Mercury, July 1, 1984]

(By Edward Seaton, Publisher)

Meet A. Zuccolillo: Uncompromising, determined, courageous. A newspaper publisher forbidden to roll his press in Kansas' sisterland to the south, Paraguay.

Now, say hello to A. Stroessner: Tough, bold, cunning. The longest ruling dictator in Latin America—and one of the most durable in the world—who three months ago shut down Paraguay's leading daily, Zuccolillo's ABC Color.

These two strikingly similar personalities are locked in a struggle of power and principle that is gaining worldwide attention and last week brought this writer face-to-face with both of them.

The executive committee of the Inter American Press Association (IAPA) was mounting an on-site campaign in behalf of Aldo Zuccolillo's newspaper and as the committee's vice chairman I was the nominal leader of the 16-member delegation. The committee chairman was unable to participate

The case has more than passing interest to Kansans because Paraguay is matched with Kansas in the Partners of the Americas program. One of the newspaper's editorreporters, Ricardo Caballero Aquino, is a K-State graduate. Its most illustrious writer, Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle—known as the Jack Anderson of Paraguay—visited Manhattan in 1980. He currently is banned by law from the practice of journalism in Paraguay

Most assessments we heard were pessimistic. Reopening the newspaper, we were told, was a dead issue in Paraguay. Zuccolillo had pushed too far in his struggle for an independent newspaper. His paper had more circulation than the other three dailies put together, it was monopolizing advertising, was disrupting national life, and was even in violation of the constitution. Despite Zuccolilo's appearing to be a virulent anti-communist to outsiders, the government party branded him a subversive.

Our only hope, we concluded, was to change the mind of President Alfredo Stroessner himself. We therefore went to a great deal of trouble to arrange a meeting with him personally. But upon departure from home had no response. An official at the Paraguayan embassy in Washington told us the president had never been known to reply to requests for meetings made by cable from abroad. A personal visit to the presidency would be necessary, he said. We were apprehensive. We could see ourselves in Asuncion being told we should have asked earlier for the interview. But upon arrival, we made the formal request in person.

To our delight, the response was positive. We would be permitted interviews with President Stroessner and other high-ranking figures in the government. We immediately sat down with Zuccolillo to map out strategy. Most interviews with Stroessner turn into a monologue by the President, we

were told, so we drafted a three-page letter to present to him as insurance that our message would not be lost. Our delegation, which included five Americans, two Brazilians, two Nicaraguans, five Argentines, an exiled Cuban and a Mexican-all representing daily newspapers-listened intently as Zuccolillo reminded us of the two recent stints in jail he'd endured as Stroessner pressured him before deciding finally to We determined we close the newspaper. should not dwell with the president on restoring press freedom to Paraguay, since even before ABC's closing freedom of the press as other non-communist countries know it did not exist. In fact, Stroessner has controlled his fiefdom with martial law by renewing every 90 days (for 30 years!) a suspension of civil liberties. We would push a re-opening of the newspaper and the peoples' right to information, we determined, and avoid a confrontation on civil liberties.

Meanwhile—unknown to us—the president's political party, the Colorados, were papering the city with posters and banners attacking our organization. They had previously launched vicious attacks over the party radio station. We woke the next morning to a view outside our hotel of three-feet high red banners with large white letters stretching across the major downtown streets. Perhaps the most telling of them was the one that said, "Primero La Ley. Despues La S.I.P." (First the law. Then the Inter American Press Association.) In other words, law and order comes ahead of civil liberties in Paraguay.

The posters were everywhere:

"Free Press, Yes "Libertinism, No "Fatherland, Yes "I.A.P.A., No"

or

"The I.A.P.A. Does Not Defend

"Freedom of the Press "It Only Defends the "Interests of Owners."

The scene was set. Our group divided up according to assignments. Three met with the Minister of Justice. Three carried our message to the Interior Minister, head of domestic security. Others interviewed the local bishop and made calls on the pro-government newspapers and broadcasters. My assignment, along with the president of IAPA, Horacio Aguirre, was to meet with Stroessner himself.

Our experience, later recounted with front-page color photos and stories in all three government-oriented dailies, began with a flourish. Greeted at the palace gate by the president's secretary of information, we were ushered into a session with the heads of each branch of the military. Also present was the minister of justice, who earlier had seen our colleagues. His message was that the publisher himself, Zuccolillo, had not actually asked the government to re-open the paper. Later, we realized this was an invitation to negotiate the re-opening, with perhaps the key trading stock being Zuccolillo's resignation as editor and publisher.

Ten minutes into the conversation an aide invited us into the president's office, which was lined on one side by still and television photojournalists. The shutters popped and we shook hands with Don Alfredo Stroessner, one of the world's most hated, yet misunderstood, chiefs of state.

The president then ushered us into a huge conference room, probably the cabinet chamber, adjoining his office. We asked the information secretary, who joined us at the end of the mammoth table as the only other participant, how long we would have with the president. He did not answer. We hoped for the best and began the discussion of the re-opening of a newspaper.

The conversation was cordial and without acrimony. At 71, Stroessner is a husky six-footer who appears the picture of health. He lives unostentatiously and is known to rise before dawn for a workday that often runs from 4:30 a.m. to midnight. Despite his reputation abroad, in Paraguay he appears genuinely popular and apparently often can be seen driving about unaccompanied by bodyguards.

There are reasons for this, of course. Growth the past decade has averaged nearly 10 per cent per year, due largely to a massive hydroelectric dam project financed by Brazil. Asuncion is prosperous, much more so than I expected. It's not Buenos Aires or Montevideo, but it's far more prosperous than Managua or Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The tragic poverty so evident to travelers to Mexico, for example, is not seen even in the countryside. Interestingly, the most miserable housing on the 900 miles of roadway between Asuncion and Montevideo, Uruguay, is just across the border in Argentina, Latin America's most developed country.

But while to many of his countrymen Stroessner is a benevolent dictator and author of prosperity, others—like Zuccolillo and Gonzalez Delvalle—have seen the dark side, which can include widespread arrests without charge, exile, torture and even death. Since seizing power in a coup d'etat in 1954, General Stroessner has maintained a balance between coercion and tolerance. So long as it does not become unruly or threatening, opposition is tolerated within the facade of a republican system with an elected congress and re-election every fifth year of Stroessner himself as president. Martial law persists, however, through periods of relative liberalization that alternate unpredictably with crackdowns.

The closing March 22 of ABC Color seems to mark such a reversal. Earlier this year, at the urging of the new, popular president of Argentina, Raul Alfonsin, Stroesner permitted most of the exiled opposition living in Argentina to return home. It was ABC's coverage of their activities and comments, he told us, that led him to close the newspaper. The "irregular opposition" have a right to their own newspaper, he said, but Zuccolillo was providing them one free. We countered these statements with responses about the value of an independent source of news for economic, political and social development. We pointed out that in a democracy information and criticism should not be confused with subversion.

We also spoke of Paraguay's image in the Western democracies and explained that many foreign governments had hoped the return of the opposition signalled a permanent liberalization. We alluded to aid that would come to Paraguay if world opinion of his regime improved. This point, we believe, may be especially significant in view of the end of the construction phase of the hydroelectric project with Brazil. Stroessner now has hopes of a similar project with Argentina.

The president spoke with pride of Paraguay's prosperity. He described the stability he'd brought to the country after decades of a revolving-door presidency. He talked of Nicaragua, where his friend Anastasio Somoza fell to the Sandinista revolution. Somoza later took refuge in Paraguay but was assassinated on an Asuncion street by

Sandinista-hired gunmen. The attitude of our Nicaraguan colleagues, who now oppose the Sandinistas, interested him.

Our conversations evolved to nearly an hour's length, so finally we asked the general what we could tell our 1,200 member publications throughout the hemisphere about the future of ABC Color. He hedged. He alluded to the obstacle of the constitutional suit brough by Zuccolillo despite his earlier agreeing with us that, regardless of how the suit came out, reopening the paper rests in the hands of the executive. In the end, he said neither yes nor no. He left the door open to a reappearance of ABC.

We were not satisfied, but we were encouraged. We resolved to continue the campaign. Since returning home, we have solicited editorials of support from many of America's major dailies, which will be appearing in the next week. We arranged for more pressure from Argentina, and we are mailing a request for support to all our 1,200 member publications in both North and South America.

Stroessner has the power, we have only principle. We marshal our forces in the court of international opinion, which is our only battlefield. Our only weapon is public arousal.

We look forward to the next issue of ABC Color. We know only one thing it will contain. Zuccolillo told a university audience of more than a thousand persons the evening of our interview he'd already written the lead editorial for the next edition. He said it was too long to read, so he'd just give the title:

"Como siempre." ("As always.")

[From the Wichita Eagle-Beacon, July 5, 1984]

MR. STROESSNER: LET ABC REOPEN

It's to Paraguayan strongman Alfredo Stroessner's credit that he at least met with representatives of the Inter American Press Association regarding the government's closure of ABC Color, a leading Asuncion daily. Now he should take the logical next step, and allow what had been Paraguay's only independent newspaper to reopen.

The recent IAPA mission was led by Edward Seaton, publisher of the Manhattan Mercury and vice chairman of the IAPA executive committee. He and Horacio Aguirre of Diario Las Americas in Miami, IAPA president, met with Mr. Stroessner for about an hour. While the president wouldn't give a firm answer, he "left the door open," according to Mr. Seaton.

"Stroessner has the power, we have only principle," Mr. Seaton wrote in a Sunday full-page article. "We marshall our forces in the court of international opinion, which is our only battlefield. Our only weapon is public arousal."

The depth of that arousal can be seen from the support Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-KS, has received for her attempts to persuade Secretary of State George Shultz to intervene with Mr. Stroessner on ABC's behalf. A letter to Mr. Shultz signed by nine other senators—including Sen. Bob Dole, R-KS—said, "Permitting ABC Color to reopen would demonstrate to members of Congress and to the American people that his government agrees with this fundamental principle (of a free press)."

For the people of Kansas, it would do even more. It would demonstrate to the citizenry of Paraguay's "sister state," under the Partners of the Americas program, that the

government of Paraguay will be sensitive, and responsive, to Kansans' feelings.

President Stroessner has much to gain and little to lose by exercising his executive powers to order ABC's reopening. He should do so and, in the process, enhance his country's image immeasurably among the free nations of the world.

[From the Miami Herald, June 10, 1984]
PARAGUAY: POISON ON THE PRESS
(By Jim Hampton, Editor)

Just last month, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner marked his 30th anniversary as president of Paraguay. Two months earlier, he showed once again how he has kept his choke-hold on power longer than any other dictator now in office.

General Stroessner tolerates just enough dissent to make dissent both remarkable and dangerous in Paraguay. Witness the travails of ABC Color, the only independent newspaper in Asuncion, Paraguay's capital.

Publisher Aldo Zuccolillo, a self-made millionaire in other endeavors, started ABC Color 16 years ago. His motive, he told an interviewer last year, was the "I am a successful man, and I thought my people needed a newspaper that would tell the truth." He knew nothing about newspapering, so he taught himself, then his staff.

Both learned their lessons well—too well, by General Stroessner's lights. ABC Color is by any standard a good newspaper, covering both domestic and foreign affairs objectively. The Paraguayan people, thirsty for credible news coverage in a dictatorship, obviously trust ABC Color. By 1983 its circulation was 90,000 copies daily, averaging 60 to 70 pages each.

Since March 22, ABC Color's circulation has been zero, however. On that day, on a flimsy and illegal pretext, the Stroessner regime closed ABC Color. Despite entreaties from various press organizations, the U.S. State Department and the U.S. embassy in Asuncion, and a bipartisan group in Congress, the newspaper remains closed.

Six days before the interior ministry closed this paper, the Paraguayan police arrested Mr. Zuccolillo. He was jailed incommunicado for a week, never formally charged as Paraguayan law requires. Instead, the Stroessner government accused him of "subverting public order," of "disrespect for the authorities," and—sin of sins!—of being "ill-bred." After his release from jail, he was kept temporarily under house arrest, enforced by armed guards.

His offense: ABC Color had covered meetings of opposition groups and published their leaders' statements. Never mind that ABC Color simply was doing its job: reporting a news event objectively. General Stroessner closed his iron fist around ABC Color.

While police cordoned off ABC Color's offices, others accompanied by a judge searched desks and file cabinets in the newsroom. They assertedly were searching for "subversive material," and naturally they found items that fit their definition of "subversive." They carted off about 250 documents and articles to examine them.

Another independent voice in Asuncion, Radio Nanduti, had the temerity to protest the closing of *ABC Color*. That set General Stroessner's iron fingers to twitching. His minions suspended the station's broadcasting license for 30 days after its owner invited listeners to tell of government corruption on a call-in program. Further, Radio Nanduti's owner pointedly was reminded of "the

convenience" of his "ceasing to worry about the ABC case."

ABC Color's closing threw 400 employees out of work. All told, it severely affected some 2,000 families dependent on the newspaper's paychecks or orders. Mr. Zuccolillo, now free from jail but hardly free otherwise, has been trying to place his workers in other jobs. He has had only minimal success.

This was the courageous publisher's worst encounter with the Stroessner regime, but not the first. Mr. Zuccolillo, his leading political columnist, and a reporter were jailed last summer. Again their offense was simply reporting and commenting on events, including governmental corruption and inefficiency.

Nor is that the Stroessner regime's only method of suppressing ABC Color. General Stroessner has used effectively the dictator's favorite technique of denying feisty newspapers newsprint on which to publish. By this strangulation, General Stroessner shrank ABC Color's average-size issue by half and its circulation by a third, to 60,000.

The Inter American Press Association's (IAPA) executive committee is scheduled to convene in Asuncion on June 22. These editors hope to meet with General Stroessner and to persuade him to permit ABC Color to resume publication.

They'd have a better chance of succeeding if other nations would join the United States in protesting this intolerable suppression of an independent, responsible newspaper. Better still, Congress should adopt a resolution, introduced by Rep. Tony P. Hall, Democrat of Ohio, to cut off all U.S. security assistance to Paraguay unless this repression ceases.

After his first jailing, last year, Mr. Zuccolillo told an American editor that "imprisonment by this regime is a medal." He now has two "medals." Unless Congress and other governments in the hemisphere join the IAPA in pressing General Stroessner to let up, another "medal"—or worse—for Mr. Zuccolillo is inevitable.

[From the New York Times, July 4, 1984] MUZZLED—IN PARAGUAY

For most of his 30 years in power, nobody paid much attention to Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, leader of the dusty fiefdom of Paraguay. But change beckons there, and General Stroessner seems perplexed by the attention he's now getting. He insists the country is free—just as his Constitution says—and can't understand why foreigners are fussing about his closing of an allegedly subversive newspaper.

Here's why. ABC Color is at once Para-

Here's why. ABC Color is at once Paraguay's leading newspaper and its conscience. Its owner and editor, Aldo Zuccolillo, has been brave enough to publish responsibly documented reports about corruption and human rights abuses. That he could do so, despite official harassment, showed that even a closed society can have windows of hope.

Last March, after ABC Color interviewed a returning political exile, it was closed on charges of "endangering the peace of the republic and the stability of its institutions." Mr. Zuccolillo was held without charges for a week and then briefly placed under house arrest. Since the paper's closing, he has paid its staff from his pocket.

Journalists elsewhere took up his cause. Where the notably moderate Inter-American Press Association sent representatives to Asunción, they were greeted by hostile demonstrators and invective of the state radio: "The pestilence of their mercenary presence does not please us." Nonetheless, President Stroessner received the delegation, and gave the impression that ABC Color just might be allowed to resume publication.

That would certainly begin to change Paraguay's reputation for political primitivism. Nothing that ABC Color might publish could damage President Stroessner as much as its continued silence. Mr. Zuccolillo's robust independence was the best advertisement for Paraguay. His real offense has been to take literally the fine language about press freedom in his country's Constitution. Muzzling him has demonstrated the fraudulence of its guarantees.

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 6, 1984] Press Crackdown in Paraguay

President Alfredo Stroessner has run Paraguay with an iron hand for so long—30 years—that suppression has become a habit, even when his own self-interest cannot justify it.

For years, Paraguay was a recluse among nations, known mainly, if at all, for poverty and the harboring of former Nazis. As long as Gen. Stroessner could ship his opponents off to a sympathetic country like Argentina, which had a military dictatorship of its own, he had little to fear at home. He could allow a critical newspaper like ABC Color to continue publishing, albeit with some harassment, and cite it as evidence that Paraguay's press was free. What harm could a free press do with nobody on hand to support?

Last fall the Argentine voters threw out their military government, and the new president asked Gen. Stroessner to take back his exiles. Since Paraguay is counting on sharing the benefits of a giant hydroelectric plant planned by Argentina on the border, the general yielded with the vague proviso that his opponents not engage in politics.

ABC Color began printing interviews and otherwise promoting the views of the dissidents: On March 22, accusing the paper of publishing "seditious opinions" and being a "spokesman for irregular political groups," the government suspended the paper indefinitely and put its publisher, Aldo Zuccolillo, in jail for a week.

Ironically, Gen. Stroessner probably has less to fear politically now than at many times in the past. A big hydroelectric plant at Itaipu on the Brazilian border has improved the country's economy and the Argentine project should add to the comforts of progress. Opposition to the government, though apparent in some liberal and academic circles, does not seem to be widespread.

Last week Gen. Stroessner was visited by a delegation from the Inter American Press Association. The message was realistic: "Sure," it said in effect, "the matter is technically in the courts. But you control the courts and in the end, the decision is yours. You say you believe in freedom of the press. You can prove it by letting ABC Color reopen."

Gen. Stroessner didn't say yes or no. But he is going on 72, an age when political bosses begin to think about how history will remember them. He has little to lose, and if he really wants to be remembered as the man who brought Paraguay out of the dark ages, now is a good time to show that he accepts the free press as part of the age of enlightenment.

[From the Washington Post, June 21, 1984] PARAGUAY'S EMBATTLED PRESS

Paraguay is one of those police states of the right that attempted to combine firm control of the political process and a limited leeway for the press. Thus has President Alfredo Stroessner managed over his 30 years of harsh and often vile one-man rule to maintain his power even while allowing some citizens to let off a bit of steam. The press is almost the only such outlet under a regime that otherwise relies on a range of sanctions extending to the threat of torture. In this tricky space the newspaper ABC Color has operated with a widely admired courage and flair. Its independent publisher. Aldo Zuccolillo, has regularly courted official rage and recrimination by pushing beyond the officially sanctioned limits on newspaper fare.

Last March 22, President Stroessner went beyond harassment and intimidation and closed ABC Color, ransacking the newspaper's offices and throwing its 100 employes out of work. The dated report was the usual official claptrap: subverting public order, serving as a mouth piece to political groups lacking official standing, disrespect for the authorities—code terms for what ought to be considered the normal practice of political journalism. As if that were not enough, the interior minister added that Mr. Zuccolillo is "ill bred." A radio station that protested the closing was itself suspended for 30 days.

The State Department and various American public figures and press organizations have protested the action against ABC Color, but the paper remains closed. The Inter American Press Organization is currently holding a meeting of its executive board in Asuncion in order to bring additional pressure to bear. President Stroessner should understand that he is isolating Paraguay from all decent opinion in the hemisphere. The journalists of ABC Color deserve to know they have the firm respect of their colleagues everywhere.

A FREE PRESS IN PARAGUAY

Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, I compliment the Senator from Kansas for her leadership in sponsoring this resolution. I believe that adoption of this resolution by the U.S. Senate would send a powerful message to the dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner.

General Stroessner's regime is perhaps best known as being the longest surviving dictatorship in the Americas. Stroessner has ruled his country with an iron hand since the 1950's and has shown little willingness to open up the political process in Paraguay. The single significant exception to this overall climate of repression in Paraguay was ABC Color, the only inde-pendent newspaper within that country. On March 22, General Stroessner apparently decided that ABC Color was showing a little bit too much independence for its own good. So, he ordered the paper's closure and had his subordinates vandalize ABC Color's offices. The paper's editor, Aldo Zuccolillo, was threatened and subsequently jailed by the Paraguayan authorities. After his release, Mr. Zuccolillo petitioned to have ABC Color's closure declared unconstitutional and to have the paper reopened. On June 28, unfortunately and not surprisingly, the Paraguayan Supreme Court dismissed Mr. Zuccolillo's petition. So, ABC Color remains silent.

Despite its silence, ABC Color has not been forgotten by those throughout the Americas who believe in freedom of the press. The Inter-American Press Association has recognized the importance of this case by sending a delegation of important journalists that included the Association's President, Horacio Aguirre of Miami's Diario Las Americas and Pedro Chamorro of Managua's embattled La Prensa. I also commend Ambassador Arthur Davis and the American Embassy staff in Asuncion for their efforts to communicate the importance of human rights and a free press to various Paraguayan officials as well as to convey American concerns about the closure of ABC Color.

Mr. President, it is my hope that this resolution, which passed the House on June 29, would be quickly approved by my colleagues in the Senate. The passage of this resolution would remind General Stroessner that a free press is an integral part of a democratic and constitutional society. By permitting ABC Color to begin publishing again and by restoring freedom of the press, General Stroessner would show that constitutionalism still counts for something in Paraguay. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Ambassador Arthur Davis to me be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Asunción, Paraguay, July 6, 1984.
Hon. Dave Durenberger,
United States Senate,

Washington, DC.

Dear Senator Durenberger: I wish to thank you for your recent letter to Secretary of State George Shultz expressing your concern over the shutting down of Paraguay's most important independent newspaper, ABC COLOR. Your letter helped underscore to the Paraguayan Government the importance which we in the United States attach to freedom of the press. I can assure you that your concerns were conveyed to the highest authorities. The translated copy of your letter I delivered to the Foreign Ministry was passed on to and read

by senior officials. We in the Embassy have explained to the Paraguayan Government that a pattern of violations of human rights and press freedom inevitably would place limits on the kind of relationship which the United States could maintain with Paraguay. Since the closure of ABC COLOR on March 22. I repeatedly have tried to make clear to Paraguayan officials that the action would be seen in the United States as a major step backwards. I have urged the Paraguayan Government to weigh carefully the enduring, negative impact which the paper's closure would undoubtedly have upon our bilateral relations.

I would like to be able to assure you that our collective efforts have carried the day and that ABC COLOR is again publishing. Unfortunately, that is not the case. On June 28 the Paraguayan Supreme Court unsurprisingly dismissed ABC COLOR's effort to have the closure declared unconstitutional. Although many within the Paraguayan Government assert that the case of ABC COLOR is closed, as far as this Embassy is concerned, we are not persuaded that the door is irrevocably shut.

Please be assured that this Embassy will continue to emphasize to President Stroessner and other Paraguayan leaders the strong support in the United States for the reopening of ABC COLOR. I hope that we can count on your continued interest in the fate of ABC COLOR.

Sincerely.

ARTHUR H. DAVIS, Ambassador.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to add my voice in support of House Concurrent Resolution 331, which con-demns the closing of the only independent newspaper in Paraguay, ABC Color. That continued act of suppression by the Stroessner dictatorship must not be ignored. This resolution, which was called up by unanimous consent in the House and passed by voice vote, urges that ABC Color be allowed to reopen. We should support it.

In recent months, there have been a few positive signs in Latin America, most notably in Argentina where the first civilian government in a long time has begun the painful work of binding up that nation's wounds. But in neighboring Paraguay, new wounds are being opened, and the old ones are festering anew.

Earlier this year, General Alfredo Stroessner marked his 30th year as President of Paraguay. His rule has been notable primarily for the poverty and oppression he has brought upon the people of Paraguay, while at the same time offering it up as a haven for Nazi fugitives.

In such an environment, we can all applaud the bravery and integrity of Paraguay's leading journalist, Aldo Zuccolillo, who has persistently endeavoured to secure greater freedom for press in Paraguay, despite, Stroessner's heavy hand and the personal risks involved. Zuccolillo's newspaper, ABC Color, has been the proverbial breath of fresh air in the suffocating atmosphere fostered by the Stroessner dictatorship. The rules are strict, to be sure. When they are broken—by ABC Color or anyone else—retribution is swift and sure. Aldo Zuccolillo was jailed last summer. and again this spring. His newspaper has been denied newsprint. Others who have taken up the cause of a free press have been pointedly reminded where power lies in Paraguay. But Aldo Zuccolillo and his valiant staff still had the courage to print as much of the truth as they could. On March 22 of this year, General Stroessner decided he had seen enough.

On March 22, 1984, ABC Color was indefinitely closed by order of Paraguay's Interior Minister, and its premises searched. The Stroessner regime has kept it closed, despite protests from the U.S. Embassy, the Inter-American Press Association, and indeed, people of good will every-

The Reagan administration has been outspoken in promoting its theory that "authoritarian" regimes, such as that in Paraguay, have the tendency to evolve into democratic govern-ments. Clearly, the people of Paraguay are still waiting. Perhaps this administration is willing to wait patiently for the Stroessner regime to reform itself. But I am not, ABC Color is not, and neither should the U.S. Senate. I strongly support House Concurrent Resolution 331, and I urge my colleagues to pass it unanimously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con.

Res. 331) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the pream-

The preamble was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

CORRECTION IN ENROLLMENT OF H.R. 559

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, may I say to the minority leader that I propose next to ask consent to correct the enrollment of H.R. 559 and to adopt a concurrent resolution to that effect if there is no objection.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, there is no objec-

Mr. BAKER. I thank the minority

leader. Mr. President, then I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate House Concurrent Resolution 340.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. ABDNOR]. The clerk will state the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows: A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 340) to correct technical errors in the enrollment of the bill H.R. 559.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 577-JUDICIARY COMMITTEE DIS-CHARGED FROM FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND OR-DERED PLACED ON THE CAL-ENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I propose now to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of House Joint Resolution 577, designating August 1984 as "Polish American Heritage Month," and to place that item on the calendar, if the minority leader does not object.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, there is

no objection.

Mr. BAKER. I make that request, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER TO HOLD H.R. 5890 AT THE DESK

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I believe this matter has been cleared, and I will state it for the consideration of the minority leader.

I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 5890, the commission relating to the Martin Luther King holiday, be held at the desk until the close of business on Monday, July 30, 1984.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, there is

no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I inquire of the minority leader if there is any portion of today's Executive Calendar he would be in a position to

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this side is ready to proceed on the military nominations, and I have just so indicated to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the minority leader. We did indeed confer privately just a moment ago.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session for the purpose of considering the military nominations beginning with and including Calendar Order No. 908, under the Air Force, and including all of the nominations placed on the Secretary's desk, which are nominations in the Air Force, Army, and Navy.

Mr. President, I am advised that there is a military appeals judge that perhaps may be cleared, as well. That

is Calendar Order No. 709 and I include that in the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE JUDICIARY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Walter T. Cox III, of South Carolina, to be a judge of the U.S.

Court of Military Appeals.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to recommend Judge Walter T. Cox III to the Senate for confirmation as President Reagan's nominee to be a member of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals. Judge Cox is a native and resident of Anderson, S.C. A graduate of Clemson University in 1964, he later earned his law degree at the University of South Carolina School of Law from which he was graduated first in his class in 1967.

He served in the U.S. Army as an officer in the Judge Advocate General Corps. He was a partner in a South Carolina law firm for a number of years and has extensive trial experience in both civil and criminal cases.

In 1978, Judge Cox was elected as a resident judge of the 10th judicial circuit in South Carolina. He has experience as an acting associate judge of the South Carolina Supreme Court and is active in various bar associa-

I am particularly proud that the President has chosen a distinguished citizen, attorney, and jurist from South Carolina for the important position of judge on the Court of Military Appeals. Judge Cox has excelled in all that he has undertaken and he is the type of person who has demonstrated intellect, judicial temperament, and leadership. These qualities will enable him to serve with distinction as a member of this Federal court.

During his confirmation hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Judge Cox demonstrated a detailed and in-depth knowledge of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and its relationship in maintaining good order and discipline in the military services. The Senate Armed Serv-

ices Committee was unanimous in its recommendation to the Senate that Judge Cox be confirmed as a member of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

Mr. President, I urge all of my colleagues to join me in a unanimous confirmation of Judge Walter T. Cox III, to be a member of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is con-

sidered and confirmed.

AIR FORCE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lt. Gen. George M. Browning, Jr., for appointment to the grade

of lieutenant general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is con-

sidered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Maj. Gen. Casper T. Spangrud, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is con-

sidered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. Wilbur L. Creech for appointment to the grade of general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is con-

sidered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. Jerome F. O'Malley under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be reassigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is con-

sidered and confirmed.

NAVY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Rear Adm. Thomas E. Flynn, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5148(b), to be assigned as Judge Advocate General of the Navy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is con-

sidered and confirmed.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Air Force, Army, and Navy, placed on the Secretary's desk.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nomina-

tions be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the nominations were confirmed.

Mr. BYRD. I move to lay that

motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was

agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session

The PRESIDING OFFICER. With-

out objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, that completes my business. We have provided for time for the transaction of routine morning business until 4 p.m. this afternoon. It is my understanding that perhaps the minority leader has matters he wishes to take up at this time.

Mr. President, in the past we have, for the convenience of Senators so that they may be fully aware of the floor situation as we proceed in morning business and to hear another presentation by the distinguished minority leader on the history of the Senate, that no business be transacted except the presentation of that speech by the Senator from West Virginia, the minority leader, and that at the conclusion of his speech the Chair automatically place the Senate in adjournment pursuant to the order previously entered.

Mr. President, I make that request. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, there will be no votes today and no business transacted today with the exception now of the presentation of and remarks of the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader for his courtesy on this occasion as on all previous occasions with respect to making provision for me to make a statement during morning business without a time limitation thereon up to the hour of 4 p.m. today.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair for the patience of the present Presiding Officer. I regret that I have imposed upon the Chair by the delay which has ensued.

Mr. President, this is the 69th speech that I have made on the subject of the U.S. Senate. The title of today's speech is "The Senate And

The Great Debate Over Foreign Policy, 1919-1941.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE

THE SENATE AND THE GREAT DEBATE OVER FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1941

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, Marines landing in the Caribbean and Central America . . . United States opposition to Sandinistas in Nicaragua . . . a presidential representative sent to mediate between opposing forces in Central America . . . a United States senator standing in this chamber and denouncing attempts to "browbeat and whip a little country like Nicaragua. . . . " 1 It all sounds very familiar. However, I am not talking about recent events, but about a debate which took place in the Senate some sixty years ago. Reviewing these events, and their similarity to our times, I am reminded of the inscription on the National Archives Building: "What is Past is Prologue."

It has been a recurring theme of my addresses on the history of the United States Senate that we must become aware of our past in order to understand and deal with the present and plan for the future. This seems particularly true when dealing with foreign policy. Today I shall examine the Senate's role in foreign policy between the first and second World Wars, from the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 to the declarations of war against Japan, Germany, and Italy in 1941. There occurred during these years a "great debate," not only in the Senate, but also in the Nation as a whole. On one side stood the Wilsonian internationalists, Democrats and moderate Republicans largely from the South and Northeast, who believed that the United States had responsibilities as a world leader that it could not shirk, and that the best way to exercise those responsibilities to ensure world peace was by cooperating through international organizations. In opposition stood the isolationists, who recalled George Washington's warning against entangling alliances, and who believed that multilateral ventures might jeopardize the Nation's security and independence.

As events unfurled, the isolationists lost the "great debate." The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and American entry into the war discredited their position. In short order, most of the isolationists either left the Senate, through death, defeat, and retirement, or converted to internationalism. It would not be for another generation, until the Vietnam war, that people would begin to reexamine the isolationists and find at least a little merit

in their concerns. Some scholars have suggested that even the terms isolationist and interventionist are misleading, and have suggested "unilateralist" and "multilateralist" as alternatives.2

For most of the two decades between the world wars, isolationism prevailed. Isolationists were particularly strong in the United States Senate, where they numbered among their ranks William E. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Hiram Johnson, Burton K. Wheeler, George Norris, Robert M. La Follette (senior and junior), Arthur Vandenberg, and Robert Taft. Most were Republicans representing mid-Western and far Western states. From 1919 to 1932, when the Republicans were in the majority, these isolationists held important committee chairmanships. After 1933, when the Democrats took control of the Senate, the isolationists lost their power base, but remained influential in the national debate over foreign policy.

The Senate's rejection of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 ranked among the most momentous events in the history of this institution. In an earlier address I spoke of the political forces and reasons behind the treaty's defeat. Today I will be discussing the period of retreat and disillusionment that followed it. The election of 1920 had placed a United States senator, Warren G. Harding of Ohio, in the placed a White House. Harding had conducted his campaign so ambiguously that it was possible for both supporters and opponents of the League of Nations to vote for him, contributing to his landslide victory. But in fact, Harding's election meant the final rejection of American participation in the League. Even presidential support for United States membership in the World Court came to nothing. After the war, the United States slipped into a mood self-centered isolationism. Nation high-tariff erected walls around itself, and held its struggling allies accountable for paying their war debts. Such economic nationalism was extremely short-sighted at a time when the United States had become the leading commercial and financial nation, industrial producer, exporter and importer, and creditor in the world-and it would prove self-defeating as well.

As president, Warren Harding expected to maintain strong ties with his former colleagues in Congress. But Harding, too, like Woodrow Wilson, found that Congress had a mind of its own when it came to foreign policy. As early as December 1920, before Harding's inauguration, Senator William Borah introduced a resolution calling on the president to invite Great Britain and Japan to a conference to reduce their naval building programs. As Professor LeRoy Ashby has written in his study of Borah (The Spearless

Leader), the senator masterfully struck a major chord of public opinion. "His disarmament suggestion appealed strongly to the traditional American distrust of military establishments, the desire for peace, and the perennial concern for lower taxes." 3 Some said that Borah's action was merely a publicity ploy to divert public blame for world affairs from the isolationists, and that he never believed Britain, France, and Japan would accept the invitation. But popular support and newspaper approval forced the Harding administration into taking up the proposal, and Britain and Japan agreed to meet in Washington to negotiate naval disarmament. At the Washington Naval Arms Disarmament Conference, held between November 1921 and February 1922, Senators Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA) and Oscar W. Underwood (D-AL) served as delegates-in contrast to President Wilson's failure to include members of Congress in the Versailles delegation. However, Senator Borah

was noticeably absent.

Harding's inclusion of senators in the negotiation proved a wise move, since he needed all the help he could get to win Senate ratification. The isolationists denounced the treaty as an alliance that committed the United States to Japanese aggression in the Far East. Senator A. Owsley Stanley of Kentucky labeled it a "baby" League of Nations. Senator Borah also cited similarities between the "Four Powers Pact" of the Washington conference and the rejected Treaty of Versailles. Speaking for the Harding administration, Senator Lodge denied any entanglements involved with the new pact. Democratic senators criticized the secrecy behind much of the negotiations, and Senator Gilbert Hitchcock introduced a resolution calling on the president to furnish the Senate with copies of all proceedings, records, negotiations, arguments, debates, discussions, and conversations among representatives of the four nations.4 Ratification was given by the Senate easily, 67 to 27, with Senator Borah in the minority opposing it. The Washington Naval Conference produced mixed results. It limited the production of large warships, but allowed an arms race to continue in submarines, destroyers, and cruisers. It called for the status quo in the Far East, with each nation recognizing the others' territories there, but it left Japan in a position to threaten China. Nevertheless, the conference and the treaty were remarkable events which brought the United States back into the international scene just two years after the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles.

Mr. President, it seems only fitting at this point that I talk about a truly notable member of the United States Senate, William E. Borah of Idaho. He served as a senator from 1907 until his death in 1940, and even today his firm, jutting jaw, lion-like mane, and resolute stance can be observed in his statue, which stands in the corridor just outside this chamber. William E. Borah was born in 1865, in southern Illinois, into a large German-American family. We are told that his father was a stern Presbyterian who ruled over his family with a firm hand, and that young Borah experienced an unhappy childhood. Briefly he attended the Southern Illinois Academy in preparation for the ministry, but after discovering that was not his vocation he dropped out and joined a traveling Shakespearean company as an actor! His training in Shakespeare became evident years later when he spoke here on the Senate floor. But an actor's life was not to be Borah's, and his irate father caught up with the troop and dragged his son home. Young Borah then went to live with his sister in Kansas, where he completed high school and enrolled in the University of Kansas. His classmates recalled him as a loner with few intimate friends. A bout with tuberculosis forced Borah to leave the University, and he turned his attention to reading law in an attorney's office. Admitted to the bar in 1887, Borah decided there was not much future for a young lawyer in then economically-depressed Kansas. He boarded a train for a new life in Seattle, but he was so short of funds that he made it only as far as Boise, Idaho. There he stayed and there he built his career.

William Borah excelled as a criminal lawyer, often handling cases as a special prosecutor for the local district attorney. In 1897, as Professor William Leuchtenburg has noted, Borah "secured the conviction of 'Diamondfield Jack' Davis, a gunman for a cattle company, for the murder of two sheep herders, one of the milestones in the attempt to bring order out of the bloody range wars of the West." His fame in the courtroom led to his entry into politics, and by 1902 he was the recognized leader of the progressive wing of the Republican party in Idaho. His election to the Senate seemed certain in 1903, but his opponents allegedly purchased enough votes in the state legislature to defeat him. Finally, in January 1907, the state legislature elected him to the United States Senate. He almost did not make it to the Senate, however, for he was indicted for defrauding the government of timber lands in Idaho during a period when he served as counsel to a lumber company. The charges, however, had clearly been trumped up by Borah's political enemies, and he was promptly acquitted. The notoriety helped Borah escape the obscurity that was then the lot of most freshmen senators, and his tremendous eloquence also lifted him head and shoulders above his colleagues.⁵

Mary Borah, the senator's wife, was sitting in the Senate gallery on the day in 1908 when her husband rose to deliver his maiden address. "The day he was to speak I arrived at the Senate early in the morning and sat on the

front row," she recalled.

Finally the 'morning business' was finished and I saw Billy push back his chair to rise, but a senator with a white beard was ahead of him and was given the floor. The senator was known for being long winded. To my surprise, after reading a letter from a constituent, he sat down. Billy rose. He stood there quietly for a while studying his audience. He began to talk in a low but easily audible voice, and then with gathering confidence. His colleagues looked at him curiously. Probably they were sizing him up. Usually when a senator speaks the other members thumb through the papers on their desks, or write, or study, or talk to each other in under-. But all the time he was tones. . marshalling his facts-as methodically as if presenting a case to a jury-they continued to listen. Then the galleries began to fill. By the time he was ready to draw his conclusions he was speaking to a crowded house, absolutely

When he had finished, and fellow senators crowded around to congratulate him, Mrs. Borah slipped away in the crowd. "It would be easier when we were alone to tell him how proud

I'd been," she said.6

Borah's influence in the Senate was felt from the start. While still a freshman he became chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, where he sponsored bills to create the Department of Labor and the Children's Bureau. He was also a leader in the fight to amend the Constitution to allow Federal income taxes and, as I have noted in an earlier address, direct election of senators. But it was the field of foreign policy with which Borah's name became most commonly associated. An intense nationalist, he stood among the chief opponents of Woodrow Wilson's internationalist program, and he joined Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as an "irreconcilable" against the Versailles Treaty and League of Nations. When Senator Lodge died in 1924, Borah succeeded him as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, a post which he held until the Democrats took control of the committee in 1933.

It seemed impossible to pick up a newspaper in the 1920's without reading a Borah pronouncement on some aspect of American policy. Herbert Hoover credited Borah with "a positive genius for newspaper publicity." Borah's practice of holding regular press conferences caused President

Coolidge to comment that "Senator Borah is always in session." Reporters would congregate at his office about 3:00 p.m. each afternoon. Twenty or more journalists might crowd around his desk for a relaxed and informal discourse on a wide range of topics. At these sessions they could not quote him directly, but Borah's staff would frequently hand out his prepared statements on a particular subject. His press relations were the envy of other senators, and a source of exasperation for his political opponents. As one Massachusetts newspaper complained in 1930: "Borah this and Borah that, Borah here and there, Borah does and Borah doesn't—until you wish that Borah wasn't." 7

Several American presidents might also have wished that "Borah wasn't," as the wiley senator frustrated their proposals. After Calvin Coolidge became president in 1923, he proposed United States membership in the World Court. It was hard to make an argument that participation in the court would lead to entangling alliances or impinge on the Nation's independence. But the hard core isolationists adamantly opposed the plan and did their best to sabotage it. Both political parties endorsed the World Court in their platforms in 1924, and the House passed a resolution favoring membership by the overwhelming vote of 303 to 28. Nevertheless, Senator Borah was not to be deterred. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Borah delayed the debate and attached five "reservations" to American participation. In January 1926, the Senate adopted the World Court proposal, with Borah's reserva-tions, by a 76 to 17 margin. The League of Nations, however, would accept only four of the five reservations, and President Coolidge declared the American conditions rejected. The twenty-one member nations on the Court informed Coolidge that they were willing to negotiate, but the president responded: "I do not think the Senate would take favorable action on any such proposal, and unless the requirements of the Senate resolution are met by the other interested nations I can see no prospect of this country adhering to the Court."8

In a more positive sense, Borah's name was also linked with the 1920's movement to outlaw war. Always suspicious of international agreements, Borah was not an enthusiastic supporter of "Outlawry," as the movement was called, but his endorsement was critical to its success. Borah believed that European policies were leading to another war, no matter what the United States might try to do. But bending to an intense lobbying effort from anti-war groups, he continued to introduce Outlawry resolutions. After French Foreign Affairs Minister

Aristide Briand proposed a bilateral pact between France and the United States, Borah actively supported the proposal. In a meeting with Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, Borah convinced the administration to broaden the proposal to a multinational pact. The result was the Kellogg-Briand pact, in which sixty-two nations pledged never to resort to war and aggression. This "noble experiment," of course, lasted only a decade, until the world was once again plunged into war—which could not be so easily outlawed?

Senator Borah also strenuously opposed American intervention in Nicaragua. During the administration of William Howard Taft the United States had replaced Great Britain as the major foreign power in Nicaragua. When a revolution erupted in that nation in 1912, the United States sent 2,600 troops to quell it. One hundred Marines were left behind to guard the United States legation, the beginning of a twenty-year occupation of Nicaragua.10 The presence of American military forces in Nicaragua and other Central American and Caribbean nations seemed entirely indefensible to Senator Borah. In 1922 he observed that "The people of Nicaragua today are being exploited in shameless fashion by American corporations protected by United States Marines." In 1925 he declared "the invasion of Nicaragua was unnecessary and therefore unmoral." He asserted that the Monroe Doctrine "does not give to us the right. to invade territory, to tear down governments and set up others." 11

In 1926, as a result of an insurrection led by General Augustino Sandino, the United States once again dispatched Marines to Nicaragua, Borah at first accepted the Coolidge administration's rationale that it had sent troops only to protect American lives in Nicaragua, but he became increasingly suspicious of the State Department's motives. In January 1927, after meeting with Secretary of State Kellogg, Borah announced his opposition the administration's policies in Nicaragua. The survival of the regime there, he said, was due entirely to the "sheer force of foreign arms." This stance caused many Latin American leaders to send congratulations to the senator for his "brilliant defense in favor of sovereignty of all the nations of the earth, equal before the law," as the former president of Chile wrote. Borah then introduced a resolution calling for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to travel to Nicaragua and Mexico to hear testimony there. But administration supporters on the committee blocked his efforts. One newspaper suggested that if Senator Borah wanted to go to Nicaragua at government expense he should join the Marines! 12

Despite Borah's protests, American Marines remained in Nicaragua until President Hoover withdrew them in 1933. The long years of American occupation had not left Nicaragua a stable or peaceful nation. General Sandino had promised to negotiate with the government once the Marines left, but on his departure from a meeting with the Nicaraguan president in 1934, Sandino was ambushed and assassinated by the Nicaraguan National Guard. The commander of the Guard who issued the orders of execution was General Anastasio Somoza, who shortly thereafter seized power in a civil war. For the next forty years Somoza and his two sons would rule Nicaragua, with the support of the United States, until the Sandinista victory in 1979.13 Nicaragua, of course, remains very much in our minds today. We stand linked to our history in that region, and many members of the Senate will share the misgivings voiced by Senator Borah in the 1920's.

The image of American troops stationed in Nicaragua shatters the "isostereotype of the United States in the 1920's, American foreign policy in those years might better be described as nationalistic and "unilateralist." It was a decade that saw a concerted effort to stem the historical tide of immigration into the United States and to favor certain groups of immigrants over the rest. One of the first bills President Harding signed was the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, which set national quotas for immigrants. and which discriminated against those from southern and eastern Europe. The Immigration Act of 1924 was even more restrictive, cutting immigration from Italy, for example, by nine-tenths.

Congress and the administration of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge also continued to press America's wartime allies for repayment of their war debts. This forced the allies in turn to press Germany for reparations. The problem, of course, was that neither the allies nor the Germans had the means to make those payments, as they struggled to rebuild after the war. The war debts remained a problem until 1931, when President Herbert Hoover arranged a one-year moratorium on repayment, which led to the eventual forgiving of the debts. 14

The Hoover administration, although it could claim many admirable policies, from the beginning of the "good neighbor" approach to Latin America to the war debt moratorium, also stumbled badly in foreign policy. Perhaps its most disastrous move was its support of the all-time high Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which triggered a wave of tariff retaliations against the United States and greatly depressed international trade. Senator Borah and other Western and mid-Western progressive and isolationist senators

took the lead in attacking Smoot-Hawley. In general they stood in opposition to Hoover's programs.

Ironically, the Progressive Republicans voted more consistently with the new Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt than they had under twelve years of Republican presidents. In light of Roosevelt's later and monumental break with the isolationists, it is important to remember that many progressive/isolationists were attracted to Roosevelt, endorsed his candidacy over Hoover's, and supported the New Deal's early domestic and foreign policies. Democratic Senator Key Pittman of Nevada replaced William Borah as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Borah remained ranking Republican on the committee and continued to have a powerful voice in foreign affairs. Robert La Follette, Jr., George Norris, Gerald Nye, and other progressives also played important roles in the "great debate" of the 1930's.15

By 1933, when Roosevelt became president, the isolationists were fairly solid in their positions, formed over the past two decades. They had come to see American entry into the first World War as a great mistake, not to be repeated again. And they had formed strong ideas as to how American neutrality from European wars should be preserved. As Professor Wayne Cole has written in his recent study of Roosevelt and the Isolationists, the isolationists "did not oppose all American activity abroad, but they wanted to leave Americans free to determine for themselves when, where, how, and whether the United States should involve itself abroad. They did not want to be bound by prior commitments in alliances or international organizations. . . . They opposed any American efforts to police the world or to rebuild the world in an American image. . . . They urged legislation restraining the president, the military, big business, and financiers as they operated in foreign affairs." 16

Against the isolationists now stood the most politically skillful of our twentieth century presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By 1933 Roosevelt also had formulated many ideas on America's role in the world. He was the legatee of two major traditions of the earlier Progressive Era. As a relative of President Theodore Roosevelt he accepted "Teddy's" view of a militarily strong America taking its place as a mediator of world affairs. As a former member of Woodrow Wilson's administration, he also believed in international cooperation through such organizations as the League of Nations and the World Court.

Roosevelt had run as the vice presidential candidate on the ill-fated Democratic ticket of 1920, supposedly the "great referendum" on American

participation in the League, and he had clearly learned both from that defeat and Wilson's sad last years that a president can only lead when the people are willing to follow. A president must be a careful educator of public opinion, which is why Roosevelt often played a cautious and crafty game rather than leading bold frontal assaults on unpopular issues.17 Franklin Roosevelt, as Professor Cole has aptly described him, was "intuitive rather than systematic, artful rather than scientific, and innovative rather then doctrinaire. He was highly flexible and shied away from rigid formulas or systems. He liked to play with ideas, to explore alternative approaches, without irrevocably committing himself to any single policy or approach. He was not troubled by inconsistencies. He had the emotional selfconfidence and political realism that allowed him to abandon policies that did not work or methods that proved ineffective. He kept his options open."18

It is impossible to discuss or understand the nature of the great debate of the 1930's without mentioning the world forces involved. On March 5, 1933, the day after Roosevelt's inauguration, Adolph Hitler gained absolute power as dictator over Germany. At that same time, the Japanese had walked out of the League of Nations. rather than accept its sanctions. Fascism in Europe and Japanese aggression in the Far East were two persistent threats to world peace and to America's security in the 1930's. And yet, as William Leuchtenberg has noted, "this was a peril most Americans chose to ignore." The Depression was foremost in their minds, and they had long since abandoned any hope that the League could solve world problems. The Nation's chief concern about world affairs was to keep out of them. President Roosevelt, keenly aware of the prevailing public sentiment, had announced during his 1932 campaign that he opposed American entry into the League, but he had not abandoned his faith in Wilsonian internationalism. 19

Shortly after becoming president, Roosevelt stressed the need for international economic cooperation, and sent delegates to a world economic conference in London. But as events progressed, the president became concerned that international agreements not tie his hands in dealing with the domestic economic crisis. The failure of the London conference was largely the result of Roosevelt's unwillingness to cooperate. In other areas the unwillingness to cooperate came from Congress. In the spring of 1933, Roosevelt considered working with the European powers on a collective security arrangement, coupled with a presidential declaration of an arms embargo against aggressors. In the Foreign Relations Committee, California Progressive Republican Senator Hiram Johnson proposed an amendment stipulatthat any embargo must apply equally to all belligerents. Senator Pittman, chairman of the committee, told the president that the arms embargo could not pass without the Johnson amendment. Roosevelt let

the matter drop.20

The isolationists had the public's ear. In January 1934 Senator Borah delivered a strong defense of isolationism to the Council on Foreign Relations, which was published in their prestigious journal, Foreign Affairs.21 Even more public attention went to Borah's attack on munitions manufacturers, whom he called "international racketeers," and on whom many isolationists blamed the first World War and current war scares. Fortune magazine published "Arms and the Men," which was reprinted in condensed form in Reader's Digest, denouncing those who profited by war. The public outrage over this and other similar publications led to the creation in 1934 of a special Senate committee to investigate the munitions industry. One historian has described this committee as more of a court than a congressional investigation, hearing the case of "Peace-Loving and Moral People v. Manufacturers and Salesmen of Implements of War."

Chairing this special committee was 42-year-old Gerald P. Nye, a progressive Republican senator from North Dakota, and a staunch isolationist. Nye, who had introduced the resolution calling for the investigation, was elected to the chairmanship by other committee members, despite Democratic majority in the Senate. This was a measure of their respect for the progressive-minded Nye-who had previously battled the policies of the Coolidge and Hoover administrations-and a recognition of his public identification with the issue. Also serving on the committee were Democrats Walter George, Bennett Champ Clark, Homer Bone, and James Pope, and Republicans Warren Barbour and Arthur Vandenberg. From the start, Senator Nye had very clear in his mind the ultimate purpose of the investigation. "I confidently predict that when the Senate investigation is over, we shall see that war and preparation for war is not a matter of national honor and national defense, but a matter of profit for few," he publicly declared. The hearings opened with great public fanfare on September 4, 1934, in the Senate Caucus Room. The committee held ninety-three hearings over the next two years, concentrating on the manufacturing and sale of munitions, activities of United States shipbuilders, and the economic circumstances of American entry into World War I, with the ultimate question being: who

would profit by the Nation's entry into the "next war."

Despite an impressive array of witnesses, including Pierre Du Pont and J. P. Morgan, Jr., the Nye committee uncovered little evidence to prove its thesis. Yet, it reinforced popular sentiments that America had been lured into the Great War not over its neutrality rights or national security, but because of bankers' investments in the Allied nations, and munition makers' and shipbuilders' desire to sell their wares. It helped create the political climate that produced the neutrality legislation of the mid-1930's, although it failed to achieve its chief objectives of nationalizing the arms industry, and reducing profits in time of war.

The committee's reputation also suffered mightily by a tactical blunder on the part of its chairman, Senator Nye. During the hearings in January 1936, Nye claimed that President Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing had "falsified" about their knowledge of secret treaties. Newspapers translated "falsified" to "lied," which led two devoted Wilsonians in the Senate to respond angrily. Senator Tom Connally of Texas denounced Nye's charge as "infamous." "Some checker-playing, beer-drinking, back room of some low house is the only place fit for the kind of language which the senator from North Dakota, the chairman of the committee, this senator who is going to lead us out toward peace, puts into the RECORD about a dead man, a great man, a good man, a man who when alive had the courage to meet his enemies face to face and eye to eye," shouted Connally on the Senate floor. The following day, Senator Nye stood to respond, defending his statement and refusing to apologize. The Senate chamber was packed. Every Democratic seat was filled, and many members of the House crowded in to observe the debate. The most emotional speech of the day came from Virginia's Senator Carter Glass, who had served as Secretary of the Treasury in the Wilson administration. Beating his fist upon his desk until he broke the skin and blood dripped from his knuckles, Glass denounced Nye for "dirtdaubing the sepulcher of Woodrow Wilson." As Democratic senators cheered and applauded, Glass concluded: "Now, Mr. President, lest I should infringe those rules which I always obey, perhaps I should better desist, because what I feel like saying here or anywhere else to the man who thus insults the memory of Woodrow Wilson is something which may not be spoken here, or printed in the newspapers, or uttered by a gentleman." Nye's blunder and Glass's indignant response sealed the doom of the Nye Munitions Investigation. The special committee had run out of money, and the Democratic majority in the Senate had no intention of providing a continuing forum for a Republican senator to attack one of their great leaders. A month later the committee brought its hearings to a close.²²

Secretary of State Cordell Hull later claimed in his memoirs that the Nye committee "aroused an isolationist sentiment that was to tie the hands of the administration" in dealing with the rising tide of aggression in Europe and Asia. "The Nye committee hearings," he said, "furnished the isolationist springboard for the first Neutrality Act." 23 This act was the first of three pieces of neutrality legislation Congress enacted between 1935 and 1937 to avoid a repetition of the forces and influences that had swept the United States into the first World War. These bills demonstrated that while we must study the past, and understand the past, we can not legislate against it. Perhaps the neutrality acts of 1935, '36, and '37 might have prevented American entry into World War I, but they were helpless to prevent our entry into World War II.

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in May 1935 set in motion the first neutrality bill. Senator Nye and Senator Clark offered legislation proposing an arms embargo to all belligerents, and wanted the Nye Committee to hold hearings. Senator Pittman and Senator Borah, chairman and ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, insisted that their committee held jurisdiction over the matter, causing the munitions committee members to back down. In the meantime, the State Department had drafted its own version of the proposed legislation, hoping to supplant the Nye-Clark proposals. In a "mad scramble" behind the scenes, a compromise was reached on a mandatory arms embargo. Senator Pittman drafted a resolution, but neither the Senator nor the President expected Congress to pass the bill before it adjourned. "It was designed largely to appease public opinion," Professor Cole suggests. Senate isolationists. however, were determined to bring the matter to a vote, and staged a filabuster to keep the Senate from adjourning.

The isolationists won their case. Pittman introduced the bill and the Senate passed it without debate. The measure then went to the House, which also passed it quickly. Some internationalists hoped that the President would veto the act, but in spite of his objections, Roosevelt approved it. When he signed the bill, Roosevelt warned that its "inflexible provisions might drag us into war instead of keeping us out." Nevertheless, the arms embargo, and provisions that prohibited Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, was now law.2 Between the aggressor and the victim in Ethiopia, the United States would

not choose sides. That we were willing to close our eyes to the Italian invasion certainly was not lost upon the Italians, Germans, and Japanese as they planned their expansionist policies.

In 1936 Roosevelt hoped to amend the neutrality law to apply the arms embargo only against aggressors, but the measure stood no chance of passage. The neutrality act of 1936 extended the earlier law for another year, adding a loan ban to the arms embargo. Again events outside the United States shaped American policy. In July 1936 a bloody civil war broke out in Spain, with Germany and Italy supporting the military rebels and the Soviet Union backing the government forces. Again the United States remained neutral

mained neutral. By 1937 the Roosevelt administration decided there was no way it could shape neutrality legislation in Congress, given the prevailing moods, and no new proposals. Senator Pittman, however, introduced his own sweeping, permanent neutrality bill. This bill would not only continue provisions of past neutrality legislation, but would add cash-and-carry requirements that belligerents pay for all American goods and ship them on their own vessels. Even this measure failed to satisfy isolationists like William Borah and Hiram Johnson, who voted against the bill in committee. But on March 3 the Senate passed the Neutrality Act of 1937 by a 63 to 6 margin, again with Borah and Johnson voting in the mi-

nority.25 Although members of the Senate and House had marched in step to produce legislation to keep the United States out of war in Europe, they began to feel dissention in their own ranks concerning the war clouds in Asia. Senator George Norris of Nebraska, who was proud of his vote against American entry into World War I, and who had supported each of the neutrality bills, was dismayed over Japan's ruthless and militaristic behavior in China. In July 1937, when Japanese planes sank the American ship Panay-by a surprise attack on a Sunday morning, by the way-Senator Norris called Japan "an outlaw nation." Japanese aggression caused Japanese aggression caused Norris to begin to alter his views about neutrality, as his biographer Richard Lowitt has noted. "It is a terrible thing," Norris wrote, "to realize we live in a world in which we must arm ourselves in order to preserve our safety." 26

On October 5, 1937, President Roosevelt responded to events in Asia and Europe in an address in Chicago—then the very center of mid-Western isolationsim. Roosevelt noted that as law, order, and justice were being wiped away around the world, no one should imagine that America would be spared. There could be "no escape through

mere isolation or neutrality." He called for peace-loving nations to "quarantine" aggressors. "America hates war," he concluded. "America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace." The speech brought forth a storm of protest. Senator Nye feared the president was trying to police the world. "We reach now a condition on all fours with that prevailing just before our plunge into the European war in 1917," he declared. Some isolationist congressmen called for Roosevelt's impeachment. The Wall Street Journal proclaimed: "Stop Foreign Meddling; America Wants Peace." president backed away from the controversy. "It's a terrible thing to look over your shoulder when you're trying to lead," he said privately, "and find no one there."27

The isolationists believed the United States should go to war only if first attacked. Senator Borah objected to "this running around over the world trying to placate every situation and adjust every controversy." It was "not the business of democracy," he cautioned. Fear that somehow the president would drag the United States unwillingly into war, and that the majority in Congress would capitulate, spurred a movement for a constitutional amendment. Congressman Louis Ludlow of Indiana, a former Washington newspaper correspondent with a sense for public opinion, proposed an amendment requiring a national referendum before Congress could declare war (except in case of attack). Public opinion showed that almost threequarters of the American public favored the Ludlow amendment, and its narrow defeat in the House of Representatives was probably attributable to the nervousness of many members following the Japanese attack on the

As the world situation grew tenser, the Roosevelt administration moved tentatively toward a more internationalist stance, while the isolationists intensified their efforts. As so often happens in a debate, the arguments became more extreme as the lines became more firmly drawn. An air of unreality surrounded some of the isolationists' arguments, best illustrated in an interview which Senator Borah gave in 1938. "The United States is getting worked up over the prospect of war. I'm not," he told a reporter. "You are a young man as compared to me and neither of us will live to see the day when the United States is invaded. With the Atlantic on one side and the vast Pacific on the other we are safe. It would be folly, from a military standpoint, for another country to try to invade us and they know it." Borah was right in calling it folly, and in saying he would not live to see an attack, but tragically wrong in thinking another country would not try it, as Pearl Harbor proved three years

Regardless of the debate in America, the movement toward world war progressed ominously. In March 1936 Germany reoccupied the Rhineland in violation of the Versailles Treaty. In November of that year, Germany, Italy, and Japan formed a military alliance. In September 1938 Hitler threatened to invade Czechoslovakia, until British and French leaders flew to Munich to appease him. In August 1939, Hitler's Germany signed a nonaggression pact with Stalin's Russia. Realizing that war was imminent, President Roosevelt lobbyied with key senators for repeal of the arms embargo. But his appeals were rebuffed. Well, Captain, we may as well face the facts," Roosevelt's crusty vice president, John Nance Garner told him. "You haven't got the votes, and that's all there is to it." On September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. This time, no longer willing to appease Hitler's insatiable appetite, Britain and France declared war. The Second World War had begun. President Roosevelt proclaimed a limited national emergency and put the Neutrality Act of 1937 into effect. "This Nation will remain a neutral nation," he said in a radio address, "but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well." 30

President Roosevelt called Congress back into special session to repeal the arms embargo, to aid victims of aggression, and to allow belligerent nations in effect the Allied nations-to purchase American munitions on a "cashand-carry" basis. This policy, he insisted, would aid the Allies without drawing the United States into the war. isolationists vehemently agreed. Public opinion polls showed deep-felt American support for the British and French against the Germans, but the same polls also showed the great majority of Americans wanted their country to stay out of the war. Senator Borah broadcast a radio address to the Nation insisting that neutrality was possible, and that American involvement in the war was not inevitable. Borah denounced the repeal of the arms embargo, but President Roosevelt had lined up the 1936 Republican presidential and vice presidential candidates, Alfred M. Landon and Frank Knox, to issue statements supporting the repeal, immediately after Borah's broadcast. And so the war for public opinion raged.31

Events in Europe and Roosevelt's shrewd and careful leadership began to shift the tide. Isolationists like Ohio's Senator Robert Taft, Vermont's Warren Austin, New Jersey's Warren Barbour, and Nebraska's George Norris, slowly came around to the president's position on repeal. "If we repeal it, we are helping England and France," Senator Norris wrote to one of his constituents. "If we fail to repeal it, we will be helping Hitler and his allies. American neutrality is an impossibility." After six weeks of debate, on October 27 the Senate repealed the arms embargo by a vote of 63 to 39. The House followed a week later, and the president signed the Neutrality Act of 1939.32

As events of history moved irrepressively past them, the isolationists lost their most eloquent voice. On January 16, 1940, Senator William Borah collapsed at his Washington apartment, lapsed into a coma, and died there three days later. The day before his collapse, Borah had led the opposition to the nomination of Roosevelt's new Secretary of the Navy, Charles Edison. His last words on the Senate floor, in this last losing battle, were in ringing defense of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. "When the time comes, as please God, I am sure it will," Borah had declared, "that the oppressed people of the world begin to fight their way back to civilization and away from the frightful 'isms' which engulf them in misery and slavery, they will look to this Bill of Rights as embodying their hopes and ideals." Less than a week after Borah uttered those words, his funeral was held in the Senate chamber. Every desk was occupied except for the one at which he sat for thirty-three years. The president, the cabinet, and the supreme court joined the Congress in mourning this towering figure. There was no eulogy. No one could match Borah's eloquence. After the service, the Senate chamber was opened and thousands filed past in silent tribute, before William Borah made his last trip back to Idaho.33

Death spared Senator Borah the agony of witnessing his hopes dashed and his policies defeated. The spring of 1940 brought the end of the "phoney war" in Europe and the beginning of the terrible German blitzkreig. On April 9, German troops invaded Denmark and Norway. On May 10, Germany marched into the Netherlands and Belgium. By the end of May, Britain was evacuating its troops from the European continent at Dunkirk. By June 5, Germany had launched its invasion of France, and by June 16 German troops were in Paris. Defeated France signed its armistice, and the Vichy government was established under Marshal Petain. That summer the German Luftwaffe carried out intensive air raids on Brit-

President Roosevelt saw Great Britain as America's last line of defense in Europe. If Britain fell to Hitler's military might, then the security of the United States would be in grave jeopardy. With Britain standing alone, the president sought some way to provide aid without inflaming American public

opinion. In May 1940 Prime Minister Winston Churchill asked Roosevelt for the "loan of forty or fifty of your older destroyers" to reinforce the Royal Navy in the English Channel. Roosevelt, however, doubted he could get such a request passed in Congress. That June the Senate amended a Naval appropriations bill to prohibit the president from sending military material to belligerent nations unless his chief military officers certified it was not essential to American defense. With Congress in no mood to authorize a sale, Roosevelt decided to act on his own, under his authority as commander-in-chief. After consulting with his cabinet and congressional leaders, Roosevelt announced, on September 4, a destroyers-for-bases deal, by which the United States would transfer fifty overage destroyers to Britain in return for Britain's leases on naval and air bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the Caribbean. Thirty years later, senators opposed to American involvement in the Vietnam war often cited the destroyers-for-bases as a usurpation of the Senate's treaty powers. Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his study of The Imperial Presidency, has defended Roosevelt's decision, and compared it to Lincoln's response to the firing on Fort Sumter. "To have tried to get destroyers to Britain by the treaty route," Schlesinger wrote, "was an alternative only for those who did not want Britain to get destroyers at all. Congress, by voting money to build the bases, soon gave the deal its implicit sanction."34

The day after Roosevelt announced his destroyers-for-bases deal, isolationists announced the formation of the America First Committee, which grew out of an anti-war organization founded by students at Yale University. (Among these isolationist students, I find it interesting to note, were such later internationalists as former President Gerald Ford, R. Sargeant Shriver, Justice Potter Stewart, and Yale President Kingman Brewster-how we regret the folly of our youth!) 35 During the next fifteen months, the America First Committee, with such spokesmen as Senator Gerald Nye and Burton Wheeler, and aviator Charles Linbergh, became the chief force for stimulating public opinion against the president's aid-short-of-war program. Roosevelt, however, was quite equal to the fight, as he proved that November by winning an unprecedented third term to the presidency over an attractive Republican candidate, Wendell Willkie. Also opposed to the America Firsters was an internationalsit organization, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, chaired by the journalist William Allen White. Thus, the lines were set for the last debate between isolationism and inter-

nationalism.

On December 29, 1940, President Roosevelt broadcast one of his fireside chats to the American people. With his reelection battle won, the president moved to create a coherent American policy toward the war in Europe and to line up public support behind that policy. "If Great Britain goes down," Roosevelt told his audience, "the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Austra-lia, and the high seas." The Americas would then "be living at the point of a gun." The Nation could not escape this danger by "crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads," he warned. The president's proposal, which he presented to Congress in his state of the union message the following week, was a Lend-Lease plan. Since the British had run out of funds to purchase war material from the United States, Lend-Lease would States, Lend-Lease would permit the president to sell, transfer, exchange, or lease military supplies to any nation whose defense he declared vital to the security of the United States.

Roosevelt's proposal launched what Professor Wayne Cole, author of a monumental study of this period, has called "the most spirited and impor-tant debates in the history of Ameri-can foreign affairs." Gone from the debate were such figures as Key Pittman and William Borah, who had both died in 1940. Leading the president's fight in the Senate was the new chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Walter George and Senate Democratic leader Alban Barkley. Against them stood Senators Nye, Wheeler, Johnson, and other isolationists. The most prominent citizen to testify against Roosevelt's plan was Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, "Lucky Lindy," the popular aviator. A complete victory by either side in the European war would destroy Western civilization, Lindbergh told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lindbergh believed American Lend-Lease would only prolong the war and undermine efforts for a negotiated peace. The United States, he declared, could not "police the world."

Despite this spirited opposition, President Roosevelt had the votes. On March 8 the Senate approved H.R. 1776—and the choice of that historically significant number was quite deliberate-by a vote of 60 to 31. Senator George Norris, completing his odyssey from isolationist to internationalist, cast his vote for Lend-Lease. President Roosevelt was delighted. The great debate over Lend-Lease, he said, "was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, on every wave length, over every cracker barrel in all the land; and it was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves." 3

Mr. President, there were so many signficant events in the foreign policy of the United States during 1940 that I can only briefly list them here. The Battle of the Atlantic was raging, with American vessels convoying British supply ships during the spring of 1940. and the sinking by a German subma-rine of the United States merchant ship Robin Moor. Germany invaded Egypt, Greece, and Yugoslavia in March and April, and then launched its inexplicable invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The war had made Russia, Britain, and eventually the United States, allies against the Germans. Also in June 1941, American scientists began secretly working on the development of the atomic bomb, which would later influence so fatefully the course of the war and of humanity. In July the Japanese occupied Indochina, causing President Roosevelt to freeze all Japanese credit in the United States, and ending trade between the two countries. Previously the President had embargoed all sales of scrap iron and steel to Japan, as an attempt to halt their military expansion throughout Asia.

In August President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Winston Churchill on board the British battleship Prince of Wales off the coast of Newfoundland. There they issued the "Atlantic Charter," renouncing territorial aggrandizement, supporting the right of people to choose their own form of government, maintaining their belief in freedom of the seas, and calling for a permanent peace organization. The nations which signed the Atlantic Charter made up the Allies who would fight the Axis and eventually form the United Nations. On August 12 the House of Representatives by a single vote approved the extension of the Army draft. In October German submarines torpedoed the United States destroyer Kearny and the destroyer Reuben James. In response the Senate on November 7, 1941 voted to repeal much of the Neutrality Act of 1939, thereby permitting the United States merchant vessels to be armed, and allowing them to carry goods into belligerent ports.

Meanwhile, the Japanese had demanded that the United States lift its freeze on Japanese credits and resume full trade between the two nations. American military officials, having broken the Japanese code, became convinced that war was imminent, and believed Japan would strike in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Isolationists viewed these developments with grave concern, certain that the president was somehow trying to prevoke a war with Germany over Atlantic shipping or trying to get into the war "by the back door" with Japan. Roosevelt at the same time moved forward to protect what he saw as America's interests, defense, and security.37

Sunday, December 7, 1941, the "great debate" over American foreign

policy came to an end. Senator Gerald P. Nye was addressing an America First rally at Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh. Twenty-five hundred people were crowded into the hall to hear Nye, Senator David Reed, and other isolationists make their case. As Senator Nye was speaking, a note was laid on the podium before him, announcing that Japan had declared war on the United States. Flustered and uncertain whether to believe the report, Senator Nye kept on speaking. He completed his address and then told his audience of reports that Japanese planes had bombed the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. That was the last meeting of the America First Committee. When reporters questioned the senator afterwards he replied: "If Japan attacked, there is nothing left for Congress to do but declare war." 38 That night, Roosevelt summoned leaders of Congress and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the White House. Isolationists like California Senator Hiram Johnson walked silently past the crowd of reporters outside the executive offices. The next day. Congress voted a declaration of war against Japan-with only Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin voting no, as she had done against American entry into World War I. Days later Germany and Italy also declared war on the United States and we were fully immersed in the global conflict.

Pearl Harbor exploded Senator Borah's prediction that the United States was safe from military attack, and it discredited the isolationists' claim that the United States could stay neutral in a world at war. Defeat and death removed most of the isolationists from the Senate in the next few years. Senators Nye, Wheeler, La Follette, and Norris were not returned to office. Senators Vandenberg and Austin converted to internationalism. Senator Taft held to his principles and remained in the Senate, but his identification with isolationism denied him the election to the presidency he so avidly sought. As the United States entered a decade of war, both hot and cold, the debate over foreign policy was muted and a bi-partisan or nonpartisan stance adopted. "Politics stops at the water's edge, became the watchword of the 1940s. Twenty years of political debate ended in a beautiful Hawaiian harbor, marred by the burning hulls of a fleet of American battle-

We remember December 7, 1941 as a day of infamy. We mourn the hundreds of American servicemen who died at Pearl Harbor, and the thousands who gave their lives in the war that followed. We might also mourn the abrupt ending of the debate over American foreign policy. While history proved President Roosevelt and his

followers more correct than their isolationist opponents, it also buried for decades the warnings of the isolationists that the United States should not aspire to police the world, nor should it intervene at will in the affairs of other nations in this hemisphere or elsewhere. Subsequent events, which will be the subject of other addresses in my continuing series on the history of the United States Senate, demonstrated that some validity existed in the arguments on both sides of that great debate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notes to the speech "The Senate And The Great Debate" be printed at this point in the RECORD

There being no objection, the notes were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTES TO "THE SENATE AND THE GREAT DEBATE"

Congressional Record, 69th Congress, 2nd sess.,

See especially Wayne S. Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-45 (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1983), 1-

*LeRoy Ashby, The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s

Urbana, Illinois: 1972), 106.

*Robert James Maddox, William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy (Baton Rouge: 1969), 114-5; Congressional Record, 67th Congress, 2nd sess.

William E. Leuchtenburg, "William E. Borah," Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1958), Supplement II, 49-51; See also Marian C. McKenna, Borah (Ann Arbor: 1961).

*Msy Louise Perrine, ed., Elephants and Don-seys: The Memoirs of Mary Borah (Moscow, Idaho:

1976), 20-21.

Ashby, The Spearless Leader, 17-19.

*John D. Hicks, Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933 (New York: 1960), 146; Karl Schriftgiesser, This Was Normaley: An Account of Party Politics During the Twelve Republican Years: 1920-1932 (New York: 1973 /1948/), 232-234. Maddox, William E. Borah, 150-182.

10 For the background of American relations in

Nicaragua and Central America, see Walter La-Feber, Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America (New York: 1983), and Robert L. Millett, "We've Done it All to Them Before in Central America." Washington Post, August 7, 1983.
"Claudius O. Johnson, Borah of Idaho (Seattle:

1967 /1936/), 342-345.

18 Ashby, The Spearless Leader, 208-212; McKen-na, Borah, 229-230. 18 LaFeber, Inevitable Revolutions, 64-69.

14 Hicks, Republican Ascendancy, 130-144, 245.

- "See Ronald L Feinman, Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republican Senators and the New Deal (Baltimore 1981). On Pittman see Fred L Israel, Nevada's Key Pittman (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1963.1
- 15 Cole, Roosevell and the Isolationists, 7.
- 13 See John Milton Cooper, Jr., The Warrior and the Priest, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt (Cambridge: 1984).

 18 Cole, Roosevell and the Isolationists, 5
- 18 William E. Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940 (New York: 1963),
- 20 Peinman, Twilight of Progressivism, 159.
 21 William E. Borah, "American Foreign Policy in
 a Nationalistic World," Foreign Affairs, XII (Janu-
- a Nationalistic World, Foreign Alfairs, 211 (Salara ary 1934).

 32 John Edward Wiltz, "The Nye Munitions Committee, 1934," in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Roger Bruns, eds., Congress Investigates, A Documented History, 1972-1974 (New York: 1975), IV, 2735-2767.

 32 Cordell Hull, The Memoirs of Cordell Hull (New York: 1981), 1 404.
- York: 1948), L 404
- ** Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 163-181.

 ** Feinman, Twilight of Progressivism, 167-169.

 ** Richard Lowitt, George W. Norris: The Triumph of a Progressive, 1933-1944 (Urbana: 1978),

27 Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 244-248; Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 226-227.

28 Peinman, Twilight of Progressivism, 170; Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 253.

** McKenna, Borah, 354.

- ⁸⁰ Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 292; Richard B. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History (New York: 1976), 388-390,
- 11 Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 321. 22 Ibid., 324-330; Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 2nd sess. (1939), 1024-1025.

23 McKenna, Borah, 369-375.
24 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency (New York: 1974), 111-115.

So Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 622-645.

28 Ibid., 409-422.

²⁷ These events are summarized in Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, 434-437. 24 Cole, Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 501-502.

PROGRAM

(The following statement occurred earlier and is printed at this point by unanimous consent.)

Mr. BAKER, Mr. President, when the Senate completes its business today it will stand in adjournment until the hour of 4 p.m. on Monday next. After the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, there will be one special order to be followed by a brief period for the transaction of routine morning busi-

At the close of the time for the transaction of routine morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the unfinished business. which will be the Hoover Dam bill. A cloture motion has been filed against further debate on the motion to concur in the House amendments on that measure. The vote will occur, under the provisions of rule XXII, 1 hour after the Senate convenes after the establishment of a live quorum pursuant to the provisions of rule XXII.

Mr. President, it is also anticipated that during the course of the day the Senate will be asked to turn to the consideration of the antitrust R&D bill which I believe has been cleared now for action either by unanimous consent or under a very brief period for debate.

Mr. President, I do not anticipate Monday will be a very late day, but the schedule is uncertain, given the complexity of the situation. I urge Senators to consider that next week and the following week may be irregular in view of the necessity to crowd a great deal of legislative work into a very short period of time.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 4 P.M. ON MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands

Thereupon, at 2:49 p.m., the Senate adjourned until Monday, July 30, 1984.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate July 27, 1984:

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following officers for appointment in the Regular Air Force under the provision of section 531, title 10, United States Code, provided that in no case shall any of the following officers be appointed in a grade higher than major.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

Allen, Robert W., XXX-XX-XXXX Andrijauskas, Victor J., XXX-XX-XXXX Burbank, Dale A., XXX-XX-XXXX Burrows, Scott D., XXX-XX-XXXX Copenhafer, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxx Crane, Dwain E., XXX-XX-Cruse, Jeffery L., XXX-XX-XXXX Csurny, David A., XXX-XX-XXXX Dickie, Andrew J., XXX-XX-XXXX Dix, John W., XXX-XX-XXXX Doherty, Steve D., XXX-XX-XXXX Dunnegan, Harrison L., XXX-XX-XXXX Eichel, Robert F., XXX-XX-XXXX Ellerbe, John C., III, XXX-XX-XXXX Elliott, Ocie B. G., XXX-XX-XXXX Elwood, Joseph L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxx Gee, Frank, XXX-XX-XXXX Goodman, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx Goss, William G., XXX-XX-XXXX Gray, Rex L., XXX-XX-XXXX Guilmain, Bruce D., XXX-XX-XXXX Halpin, Senan, xxx-xx-xxxx Hart, Harold D., XXX-XX-XXXX Heberling, Michael E., XXX-XX-XXXX Hemmens, William T., XXX-XX-XXXX Hertz, Rudolph K., XXX-XX-XXXX

July 27, 1984
Hopping, John P., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Howard, Dennis M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hudson, Robert B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hull, Philip W., XXX-XX-XXXX Jackson, Neulon D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Jankowski, David A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Jenkins, John D., XXX-XX-XXXX Johanson, Douglas K., XXX-XXXX
Johnson, Charles E., XXX-XX-XXXX Johnson, Phillip J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Jones, Dave P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Jones, Grady R., XXX-XX-XXXX Jones, Roger E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Jones, Roger E., XXX-XX-XXXX Kanko, Ralph E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Keating, Thomas M., XXX-XX-XXXX King, Paul J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Krans, Raymond L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Kuenn, Thomas J. Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kukuk, Steven D., XXX-XX-XXXX Larson, Dale L., XXX-XX-XXXX Leal, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Leal, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX Lewis, Sanford C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lewis, Sanford C., XXX-XX-XXXX Livermore, Loren W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Magness, Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mangieri, Joseph M., XXX-XXXXX Markley, Robert E., XXX-XXXXX
Marshall, Charles, P., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maryeski, Joseph P., XXX-XX-XXXX McCoy, Lorna G., XXX-XX-XXXX
McCoy, Lorna G., XXX-XX-XXXX Miller, Dale C., XXX-XXXXX Milner, John R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Milnes Timothy F. YYY-YY-YYYY
Modlin, Gary T., XXX-XX-XXXX Monroe, Arthur J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Monroe, Franklin B., XXX-XX-XXXX Moore, Julian M., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Morris, Charles E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mullenax, John O., XXX-XX-XXXX Muller, Douglas J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Musick, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx Napolitano, Clifford E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nation, Dolf C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Neuhard, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX Newsom, Gary K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nipper, Johnny B., XXX-XX-XXXX Nistico, George T., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nolly, George E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Overmyer, Devon L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx Parker, Melvin, J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Parnell, Dale P., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Parsell, William, F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pattison Bruce R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pauciello, Frank, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Peltier, Joseph E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pershing, Marvin E., XXX-XX-XXXX Phillips, Robert E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Plucker Wayne G VVV-VV-VVV
Popovich, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Poff, David P., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prvnne, Ronald D., Parkers
Richardson, Edwin S., III, XXX-XXXXX
Rasmussen, Terry R., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Roberts, David W., Jr., XXX-XXXXX Rothaman, Neill F., XXX-XXXXX
Rowe, Richard D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Russell, Walter G., xxx-xx Saylor, Wax W., xxx-xxxx
Schaeler, Verne S., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Schlafli, William E., XXX-XX-XXXX Schwandt, Roland L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Sisk, Robert T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Smith, Donald F. Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Smith, McBurnett J., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Spray, Gordon W., XXX-XX-XXXX Staley, Thomas R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Stegman, Patrick G., XXX-XX-XXXX Stothart, William K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Stover, David R., XXX-XXXX

Strode, Michael R., XXX-XX-XXXX Strong, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx Sulham, Clifford B., xxx-xx-xxxx Thomas, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxx Thurman, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-x The following officers for appointment in

the Regular Air Force under the provisions of section 531, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, provided that in no case shall any of the following officers be appointed in a grade higher than major.

Ahthony, Theodore T., XXX-XX-XXXX Roth, Gary E., XXX-XX-XXXX Ziegler, Austin H., XXX-XX-XXXX

JUDGE ADVOCATES

Bailor, Donald E., Jr., xxx-xxxxx Brown, Dale M., XXX-XX-XXXX Daugherty, Kevin L., XXX-XX-XXXX Powers, John J., XXX-XX-XXXX Schneiderman, David M., XXX-XX-XXXX Schwartz, Robert S., XXX-XX-XXXX Shearer, Harry J., XXX-XX-XXXX Smitherman, Edward T., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Stalls, Felix J., III, XXX-XX-XXXX Vandenbroeke, Patricia L., XXX-XX-XXXX Weeks, Rebecca S., XXX-XX-XXXX Wilson, Cleve A., III, XXX-XX-XXXX

NURSE CORPS

Ashbaugh, Ann M., XXX-XX-XXXX Baker, James E., XXX-XX-XXXX Barnoski, Deborah M., XXX-XX-XXXX Bartels, Betsy, XXX-XX-XXXX Biehl, Carla, XXX-XX-XXXX Boone, Patricia A., XXX-XX-XXXX Bostek, Chester C., XXX-XX-XXXX Burke, John F., XXX-XX-XXXX Cash, Kathy K., XXX-XX-XXXX Cobbs, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX

Fagan, Kathryn M., XXXXXXXX
Feeley, John F., XXXXXXXX
Gass, Susan M., XXXXXXXX
Gilmore, Diane E., XXXXXXXX
Goodwin, Rebecca A., XXXXXXXXX
Goos, Virginia F., XXXXXXXXX
Grijalva, Ruben A., XXXXXXXXX
Hall, Susan J., XXXXXXXXX
Harper, Robert E., XXXXXXXX
Hayes, Clyde W., Jr., XXXXXXXX
Hibdon, Thomas D., XXXXXXXXX
Hite, Linda M., XXXXXXXXXX
Hite, Linda M., XXXXXXXXXX Hite, Linda M., XXX-XX-XXXX Humphrey, Norma J., XXX-XX-XXX Jacobson, Jerry W., XXX-XX-XXX Keith, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX Kenyon, Cynthia A., XXX-XX-XXXX Klein, Terrence L. XXX-XX-XXXX Ludwig, Marie G., XXX-XX-XXXX McCurry, Rita L., XXX-XX-XXXX Moyer, Marie A., XXXXXXXXX Myers, Kenneth E., XXXXXXXXX Nation, Robert C., XXXXXXXXX Nygaard, Lowell M., XXXXXXXXX Patterson, Sharon D., XXXXXXXXXX Williams, Gary R., XXX-XX-XXXX Willis, Lawrence A., XXX-XX-XXXX Windmueller, Pamela A., XXX-XX-XXXX

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

Lee, Robert E., XXX-XX-XXXX Mitchell, Gerry W., XXXXXXX Patterson, Nell G., XXXXXXX Poetschke, Edward G., XXXXXXX Standifer, Tommie R., XXX-XX-XXXX Tipton, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX Virgilio, Benjamin W., xxx-xx-xxx Wathen, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxx

BIOMEDICAL SCIENCES CORPS

Bird, Virginia L., XXX-XX-XXXX Keller, William F., XXX-XX-XXXX Mareth, Martha M., XXX-XX-XXXX Mitchell, Melinda A., XXX-XX-XXX

Traweek, Anthony C., XXX-XXXXXX Witt, William M., XXX-XXXXXX IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for permanent promotion in the U.S. Air Force, under the appropriate provisions of section 624, title 10, United States Code, as amended, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force.

LINE OF THE AIR PORCE

to be major

Abati, David W., XXXXXXXX
Abbit, James H., XXXXXXX
Abbott, Gerald W., XXXXXXX
Aboe, Errol S., XXXXXXX
Abrams, Lynn J., XXXXXXX
Achramowicz, Stephen W., XXXXXXX
Adams, Harold R., XXXXXXX
Adams, James A., XXXXXXX
Adams, James R. Jr., XXXXXXXX
Adams, Thomas C. Addang, Thomas C., XXXXXXXXX Addison, Johnny O., XXXXXXXX Aderhold, David J., XXXXXXXXX Adler, Edward H., XXX-XX-XXXX Adocchio, Vito A., XXX-XX-XXXX Adriance, Bruce E., XXX-XX-XXXX Adriance, Bruce E., XXXXXXX
Ahne, David J., XXXXXXXX
Ahrens, Glenn D., XXXXXXXX
Akerlind, Nils Jr., XXXXXXXX
Akers, Robert L., XXXXXXXX
Akins, Billy R., XXXXXXXX
Alanis, Arnulfo S., XXXXXXXXX Albert, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX Albert, John G., XXX-XX-XXXX Aldrich, Gary L., XXX-XX-XXX Aldrich, Raymon E., XXXXXXXX Alexaitis, Jon H., XXXXXXXX Alexander, Kelly D., XXXXXXXX Alexander, Ralph Jr., XXXXXXXX Allen, Andrew R., XXXXXXXXX Anderson, Albert L., XXX-XX-XXXX Anderson, Emmet D., Jr., XXX-XXXXX Anderson, James S., XXX-XX-XXXX Anderson, John C., xxx-xx-xxx Anderson, Lamarr L., XXX-XXXXX Anderson, Larry O., XXX-XXXXX Anderson, Michael E., XXX-XXXXXX Anderson, William, XXX-XXXXX Andren, George W., XXX-XXXXXX Andrijauskas, Victor J., XXX-XXXX

Armentrout, Drew A., XXX-XX-XXXX Armstrong, Alan D., XXX-XXXXXX Armstrong, Frank I., XXX-XXXXX Armstrong, William C., XXX-XXXX Arnett, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX Arnold, Don G., XXXXXXXXX Arnold, Joseph W., XXXXXXXX Arnold, Vincent A., XXXXXXXX Austin, William C., XXXXXXX Avalos, Mario T., XXXXXXXX Aven, William M., XXXXXXXXX Avila, Edward R., XXXXXXXXX Avvento, Gennaro J., XXX-XX-XXXX Aydelotte, Roy R., L., Jr., XXX-XX-XX Ayers, Francis H., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Backhus, John K., XXX-XXXX Badger, Arthur D., XXX-XXXXX Bailey, James A., XXX-XXXXX Bailey, Raymond A., XXX-XXXXX Baker, Thomas E., XXX-XXXX Baker, Thomas R., XXX-XXXX Barron, Steve L., XXX-XX-XXXX Bartels, Hilmar H., XXX-XX-XXXX Bartels, Klaus B., XXX-XX-XXXX

Barthold, Bruce R., XXX-XX-XX Barton, Harold H., Jr., XXX-XX Baum, Christopher, xxx-xx-xxx Beard, John H., xxx-xxxx Beard, Lee R., xxx-xxxx Bennett, Judith S., XXX-XX-XXX Bennett, Timothy W., XXX-XX-X Bielanski, Gordon, XXX-XXXXX Bielick, Michael J., XXX-XXXXX Bigos, Adam W., XXX-XX-XXXX Bina, Robert E., XXX-XX-XXXX Bird, Christopher O., XXX-XX-XXXX Blackwell, Jimmie A., xxx-xx-xxxx

Blevins, Harrol D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Blohm, Michael R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bly, John C., yyy yy yyy
Blythe, John M., yyy,yy,yyy
Boal, Robert H., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Boehm, James G., xxx-xx
Boggs, Paul R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bognar, Vance J., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Hohon, James I. VVV VV VVVV
Bohon, Thomas G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bohon, Thomas G., XXX-XX-XXXX Bohunko, Joseph F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bolton, Jose, YYYYYYY
Bolton, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bond, Kyle C., yyyyyyyy
Bond, Michael E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bondzeleske, Edward A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bonnett, Bruce J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bonngard, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx Boorn, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boorn, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boot, Robert L., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Booth, Thomas E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Booth, William H., XXX-XX-XXXX Bortz, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX
BOFUZ, James R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Bosler, Mark E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bostelman, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bostick, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boudreaux, John L., Jr., XXX-XXXXX
Bourne, George L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bowen, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bowlby, Randall B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bowman, Keith E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Box, Arthur C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boy, Edmund G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyce, Joseph W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyd, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyer, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyle, James, M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bradbury, Frank C., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Bradham, Gary C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bradley, Kenneth A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Brady, Glen L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Brady, William A., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
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Brady, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Brady, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX Bragg, Robert C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Brady, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX Bragg, Robert C., XXX-XX-XXXX Brammeler, Charles L., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Brady, William R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Brady, William R., Bragg, Robert C., Brammeier, Charles L., Jr., Brandau, Richard A., Brandeberry, Frank A., Brandt, Ronald V., Bratina, Tuiren A., Bratton, Joseph K., Jr., Braud, Stuart P., Braud, Stuart P., Braud, Thomas F., Bread, Thomas F., Breekenridge, Ronald R., Breekenridge, Ronald R., Breerwood, David J., Breerwood, David J., Breerwood, David J., Breeyen, Cheney C., Breiwo, Joseph S., Brennan, Joseph A., Breiwo, Joseph S., Brennan, Joseph A., Brennan, Stephen C., Bright, Victor A., Jr., Bright, Victor A., Jr., Brobeck, Gary L., Brooks, Stephen F., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Stephen M., Brooks, Terry L., Brooks, Vernon J., Brooks, Vernon J., Brooks, Broome, William H., Brooks, Brouseau, Paul R., Brown, Bruce A., Broown, Bruce A., Brooks, Stephen B., Brown, Bruce A., Brooks, Walley Bruce A., Brooks, Breen, Bruce A., Breen, Bruce A., B
Brady, William R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Brady, William R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Brady, William R., Bragg, Robert C., Brammeier, Charles L., Jr., Brandau, Richard A., Brandeberry, Frank A., Brandt, Ronald V., Bratina, Tuiren A., Bratton, Joseph K., Jr., Braud, Stuart P., Braud, Stuart P., Braud, Thomas F., Bread, Thomas F., Breekenridge, Ronald R., Breekenridge, Ronald R., Breeze, Richard C., Breeye, Richard C., Breiwo, Joseph S., Breiwo, Joseph S., Brennan, Joseph A., Breiwo, Joseph S., Brennan, Joseph A., Brennan, Joseph A., Brennan, Joseph A., Brennan, Joseph A., Brenck, Gary L., Brobeck, Gary L., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Stephen M., Brooks, Stephen M., Brooks, Stephen M., Brooks, Terry L., Brooks, Terry L., Brooks, Terry L., Brown, Gregg L., Brown, Gregg L., Brown, James H., Jr.,
Brady, William R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Brady, William R., Bragg, Robert C., Brange, Robert C., Branmeier, Charles L., Jr., Brandau, Richard A., Brandeberry, Frank A., Brandt, Ronald V., Bratina, Tuiren A., Bratton, Joseph K., Jr., Braud, Stuart P., Braud, Thomas F., Braud, Thomas F., Breekenridge, Ronald R., Breekenridge, Ronald R., Breerwood, David J., Breerwood, David J., Breeno, Paulette I., Breywo, Joseph S., Breiwo, Joseph A., Breiwo, Joseph A., Breiwo, Joseph A., Breman, Joseph A., Breoks, Stephen C., Brobeck, Gary L., Brooks, Stephen F., Brooks, Stephen M., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Stephen M., Brooks, Terry L., Brown, Bruce A., Brown, James H., Jr., Brown, Mark N., Brown, Mark N., Brown, Mark N., Brown, Paul, R.,
Brady, William R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Brady, William R., Bragg, Robert C., Brammeier, Charles L., Jr., Brandau, Richard A., Brandeberry, Frank A., Brandt, Ronald V., Bratina, Tuiren A., Bratton, Joseph K., Jr., Braud, Stuart P., Braud, Thomas F., Breckenridge, Ronald R., Breerwood, David J., Breerwood, David J., Breerwood, David J., Breerwood, David J., Breen, David M., Breerwood, David J., Breen, Joseph A., Breeve, Gichard C., Brebob, Paulette I., Breiwo, Joseph A., Brennan, Joseph A., Breoks, Stephen C., Brobeck, Gary L., Brooks, James M., Brooks, Stephen B., Brooks, Stephen L., Brooks, Terry L., Brooks, Terry L., Brooks, Terry L., Brooks, Terry L., Brown, Bruce A., Brown, James H., Jr., Brown, Miller H., Jr., Brown, Miller H., Jr., Brown, Miller H., Jr., Brown, Ronald D., Brown, Russell H., Brown, Russell H., Brown, Russell H.,
Brady, William R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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Brust, Richard A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Burley, Roger L., XXX-XXXX
Burnett, David M., XXX-XXX
 Burns, Patrick A., XXX-XX-XXXX
 Burrell, Raymond D., XXX-XX-XXXX
 Burrell, Steven L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Burrows, Scott D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Burt, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Busch, Bradley R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bush, Danforth R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bush, George W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bush, John L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bushko, John A., XXX-XX-XXX
Busing, Fred E., XXX-XX-XXX
Butler, Bobbie S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Butler, Bradley L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Butler, Ernest E., Jr., XXX-XX-XX
Byers, Richard E., xxx-xx-xxx
Byrd, Albert D., xxx-xx-xxx
Byrd, Larry E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Byrd, Thomas E., XXX-XXXX
Cade, James R., XXX-XX-XXX
Cagle, Randolph L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Cain, Douglas N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Caipen, Terry L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Campa, Raul T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Canion, Michael D., XXX-XX-XXX
Cantrell, Randall R., XXX-XX-XXX
Caples, Buddy C., XXX-XX-XXX
Capples, Charles J., XXX-XX-XXX
Capples, Charles J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Caputo, Robert P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Cardinal, Michael R., XXX-XX-XX
Carpenter, Charles L., XXX-XX-XXX
```

Carr, Jeffrey C., XXX-XX-XXXX Carr, John F. xxx-xx-xxxx Carr, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xx Carroll, Charles G., xxx-xx-xxx Carroll, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxx Cecchi, August M., XXX-XX-XXXX Chang, Stanton A., XXX-XX-XXXX Charczuk, Glenn M., XXX-XXXXX Charek, Dennis J., XXX-XXXXX Charfauros, Kenneth H., XXXXXXX Chastain, Oscar E., III, Chealander, Steven R., Cheeseman, Gary R., XXXXXXXX Childress, Charlie, Jr., XXXXXXXX Chilton, Kevin P., XXX-XX-XXXX Chow, Douglas W., XXX-XX-XXXX Christensen, John L., XXX-XX-XX Christian, James N., xxx-xx-xxx Clark, Daniel C., xxx-xx-xxx Clark, Daniel C., XXXXXXXX Clark, Dennis, R., XXXXXXXX Clark, Gregory A., XXXXXXXXX Clark, Trudy H., XXXXXXXXXX Clark, Turner R., Jr., XXXXXXXXX Clatterbaugh, Charles C., XXXXXXXX Clavin, Maria A., XXX-XX-XXXX Clawson, Frank W., XXX-XX-XXX Clay, Harold, M., XXX-XX-XXX Clayton, William R., XXX-XX-XXX Cluck, Stewart C., xxx-xx-xxxx Coates, Wallace W., xxx-xx-xxxx Coats, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXXX Cochrane, Marvin A., XXX-XX-XXXX Cockerham, Lynnwood M., xxx-xx-xxxx Cockerham, Lynnwood M., XXXXX Codella, John L., Jr., XXXXXXXX Cohoon, Charles R., XXXXXXXX Coldron, Clark S., XXXXXXXX Cole, Jerry D., XXXXXXXXX Cole, John R., XXXXXXXXXX Coleman, Michael C., XXXXXXXXXX Comeaux, Joseph J., XXX-XX-XXXX

21410	
Commer, Richard L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Commons, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Compton, Jeppie R. L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Coney, Terry G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Conley, Clare L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Connell, James E., XXX-XX-XXXX Conner, Carl W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Connolly, John M., XXX-XXXX	
Connor, Edward T., XXX-XXXX	
Connors, Bruce A., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Connors, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Conrad, William H., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Contreras, George L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cook, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cook, Larry W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Cook, Richard H., XXX-XX-XXXX Coombs, John E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cooper Rainh E	
Cooper, Ralph E., XXX-XX-XXXX Coots, Carroll W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Copenhafer, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Cordell, Sammy L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Corfman, James C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Corlette, Tom N., III, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Corley, Denver G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cornier, Arthur, XXX-XXXXX	
Cornell, Charles O., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cosentino, Vernon L., XXX-XXXXX	
Cost, Thomas M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cotterman, Steven R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Counts, Laura C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cowlishaw, James E., III, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cox, Norman R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Cox, William H., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Craft, Billy R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crain, Charles E., III, XXX-XX-XXXX Cramer, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cramsie, William P., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crandall, Dale L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crandley, John R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Crane, Dwain E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crane, Lowell W., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Craner, Kent J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Crawford, Alan E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crawford, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx Crawley, Frederick J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Creek, Howard E., XXX-XX-XXX	
Cresno, Francis J., VVVVVVV	
Crespo, Francis J., XXX-XX-XXXX Crews, Timothy J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cristiani, Steven J., XXX-XX-XXX	
Crook, John S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cropper, James W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cross, Christopher A., XXXXXXXX	
Crossey, Terrence G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crouch, Jett, XXX-XX-XXXX Crowe, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crowley, Philip J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cruce, Alan B. XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cruit, Jerry W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cruit, Jerry W., XXX-XX-XXXX Crum, Timothy D., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Crumley Sidney M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cruse, Jeffery L., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Crusoe, Robert W., XXX-XXXX	
Cuadros, Ricardo G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cude, Roger M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Culbertson, William C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Culbertson, William C., XXX-XX-XXX Cummings, William H., III, XXX-XX-XXX Cummins, Gregory W., XXX-XXXX	
Cummins, Gregory W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cunningnam, John I., XXXXXXXXXX	
Cuoio, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cuomo, Gennaro, xxx-xx-xxx	
Currie, Paul T. H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Custer Scott S VVVVVVV	
Custer, Scott S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cutler, James I., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Cutter, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cutler, James I., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Cutter, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cutter, Michael J., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Cutler, James I., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Cutler, James I., Jr., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Cutter, James I., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Cutter, James I., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Cutter, James I., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	

Damore Donato P VVVVVVVV
Damore, Donato P., XXX-XX-XXXX Damore, George F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Daniore, George F., AAA-AA-AAAA
Daniels, Tony G., xxx-xx-xxx
Danielson, Dennis L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Danielson, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Darrell, Christopher E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Daspit, Paul F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Daugherty Dennis R VVVVVV
Daugherty, Dennis R., XXX-XX-XXXX Daughtry, Doyle C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Daughtry, Doyle C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davenport, Anthony, xxx-xx-xxxx
Davenport, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Davis, Cecil L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Charles R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Clair S., XXX-XX-XXX
Davis, Ciair S., AAA-AA-AAAA
Davis, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Davis, Edward M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Gary W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Harold J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Davis, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Davis, Janie V. XXX-XX-XXX
Davis, Leslie M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Mark L., xxx-xx-xxx
Davis, Norvin L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Thomas, III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Dawson, Hal R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dawson, Vance, XXX-XXX
Day, Benjamin H., XXX-XXXX
Day, Dennis L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Day, Joseph G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dean, Charles H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dean, Gregory L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Deares Dieberd 1
Deason, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Debord, Walter E., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Debruin, Philip C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Decker, Carl E., III. XXX-XX-XXXX
Dedrick, Craig R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Deese, Cynthia A., XXX-XXXX
Deese, Cyntinia A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Deese, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Delcambre, Russell P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Deloach, J.D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dement, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Denbleyker, Kenneth T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Denbieyker, Kenneth L. XXX-XXXX
Denner, Bruce R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dennis, Richard W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Denson, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Denton, William A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Devlin, Mark A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dielese Deleh D. 100(1000)
Dicicco, Ralph P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dick, Douglas R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dicker, Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dickerson, Mark C., xxx-xx-xxx
Dickie, Andrew J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dickinson, Eddie A., xxx-xx-xxx
Dickinson, Edule 21., XX-XX-XXX
Dickinson, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dickson, Tommy D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Diehl, Arthur F., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Digrado, Joseph P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dike, Richard J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dill Gilbert A MANAGON
Dill, Gilbert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dimarchi, David O., xxx-xxxxx
Dineen, Richard T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dion, David P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dionne, J., Matthew. XXX-XX-XXXX
Dix, John W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dixon, Frederick R., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dixon, Robert, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Doan, Robert H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dobyne, Jerome, XXX-XX-XXXX
Dodson, Ernest D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Doherty, Steve D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dolly, Richard E., XXX-XX-XXX
Dolly, Richard E., XXX-XXXX
Dolphin, Dennis E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Domineck, Harold, XXX-XX-XXXX Donahue, Mary E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Donahue, Mary E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Donald, Harold H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Donaldson, Scott J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Donovan, John M. XXX-XX-XXX
Donze, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dorris, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Doss, Robert K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dotson, Jim. Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Doucet, Stephen P. XXX-XX-XXXX
Dougherty, Mark E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dougherty, William B., XXX-XX-XXX
Douthit Paymond A May 2000
Douthit, Raymond A., XXX-XX-XXXX

Dow, Ryan S., XXX-XX-XXXX Downey, Dana S., xxx-xx-xxxx Downey, William R., xxx-xx-x Downey, William R., XXXXXXX
Doye, David A., XXXXXXX
Dozier, William K., XXXXXXX
Dreaden, Larry E., XXXXXXXX
Dreier, Craig W., XXXXXXXX
Dretar, Stephen P., XXXXXXXXX
Drew, Michael W., XXXXXXXXX Dringman, David B., XXX-XX-XX Driscoll, John A., XXX-XX-XXXX Drogan, Raymond A., XXX-XX-XX Dunable, Lyle C., XXX-XX-XXXX Dunbar, James G., XXX-XX-XXXX Dunbar, Martin, Jr., xxx-xx-xxx Dunbar, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxx Dunford, Dale E., XXX-XX-XXXX Ege, Ronald R., XXX-XX-XXXX Eggers, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX Ehrlich, Michael B., XXX-XX-XXX Elliott, Kurt A., xxx-xx-xxxx Elliott, Ocie B. G., xxx-xx-xx Ellis, Donald B., XXX-XX-XXXX Ellison, Thomas W., Jr., XXX-X Elmore, Travis E., XXX-XX-XXX Elwood, Joseph L., Jr. XXX-XX-XXX Estill, David J., XXX-XX-XXXX Evans, William F., Jr., XXX-XX-XX Evens, Gary R., XXX-XX-XXXX

July 21, 1304
Ewell, Leighton B., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ewen, Kelly B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ewing, Paul E., XXX-XX-XXXX Exner, Tony P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Faber, Larry E., XXX-XXXXX
Fairchild, Bufkin R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fairhurst, James A., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Fairless, Bobby L., yyy,yyyy
Parinelli, Mauro N., XXXXXXXXXX
Faris, David S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Faris, Ronald J., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Farrell, Dennis W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Parrell, Michiai G. J. A.,
Faust, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx Fauver, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Pay Robert L. Ir VVV VV VVV
Fazio, Richard P., XXX-XX-XXXX Fazzari, Joseph F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fazzari, Joseph F., XXX-XX-XXXX
reatherstone, Alah w., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Felice, Francis E., XXX-XX-XXXX Fender, Horace D., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fenn, John F., xxx-xx-xxx
Fenton, Stephen T., xxx-xxxxx
Ferguson, Gary B., XXX-XX-XXXX Ferlin, Douglas E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ferlin, Douglas E., XXX-XX-XXX
Fernandez, Jorge L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ferretta, Kenneth O., xxx-xx-xxxx Few, Gary B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fibranz, William H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fields, Larry A., xxx.xx.
Filiger, Dennis P., XXX-XX-XXXX Fine, Leslie R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fingarson, Melvin H., YYY,YYYYY
Fink, Donald W., yyy,yyyy
Finnegan, James F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Finney, William M., XXX-XX-XXXX Fisher, Richard K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fisher Richard M. XXX-XXXX
Fisher, Richard M., XXX-XX-XXXX Fisher, Rodney A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fisher William J. VVVVVVVVV
Fitzgerald, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Pitzgerald, Gary H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fitzgerald, David J., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Flake, George W., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Flake, George W., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Flanagan, Bernard J., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Flake, George W., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Flake, George W., Jr., XXXXXXX Flanagan, Bernard J., Jr., XXXXXXX Fleck, George M., XXXXXXXX Fleck, Stephen A., XXXXXXXXX
Flake, George W., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

10	razier, Larry B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
TO	roderiels on Daniel	
F	rederickson, Bruce L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
-297	reeman, David H., yyy,yyyy	
F	reeman, John P., XXX-XX-XXXX	
175	roaman William H Doctor	
-	eeman, william H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
10	reitag, Alan R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
F	reund, Paul G., xxx-xx-xxxx	
175	revert, William L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
77	TEVELL, WILLIAM LII, XXX-XX-XXXX	
F	ried, William A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
F	rierson, Allen P., II, XXX-XXXX	
175	riese, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
77	XXX-XX-XXXX	
F	ritz, Kenneth W., xxx-xx-xxx	
F	roslie, Keith E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
325	rost, Dale E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
77	tost, Date E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
P	ry, Craig D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
F	ryback, Clarence G., xxx-xx-xxxx	
325	Illam Dielen A NOCCOCO	
	uller, Ricky A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
F	unck, Paul K., xxx-xx-xxx	
10	unk, Henry C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
***	AAA-AA-AAAA	
Je.	urbush, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
F	urbush, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX urtado, Edward L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
C	able, Deborah L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
~	ROIC, DEDOUBLE D., XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	ade, Dale R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
G	age, John H., Jr., xxx-xxxxx	
0	age, John B., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX ahlinger, Joseph R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
U	ATTIMISET, OUGEPH R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	albreath, Terry S., XXX-XX-XXXX ale, Roderic A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	ale, Roderic A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
0	allacher Charles P	
U	allagher, Charles P., XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	arber, Larry E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
C	arcia, Damaso, xxx-xx-xxxx arcia, Leonard R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
2	arcia, Daimaso, AAA-AA-AAA	
G	arcia, Leonard R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
G	ardella, Paul J., yyy,yy,yyy	
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G	aruner, Alan L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	ardner, Curtis L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
G	ardner Republic voccessor	
~	artifier, reoriald C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	arlock, Frederic R., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	Н
G	arrity Kevin S XXX-XXXX	
ö	ardella, Paul J., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
u	armer, Filmp, XXX-XX-XXXX	
G	artner, Philip, XXX-XX-XXXX arvin, James K., XXX-XXXX	
C	ary, Frank R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
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G		
	arza, Javier, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
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GGG	ast, Stephen R., XXX-XX-XXXX aten, George, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX augert, Alan R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
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Goci, Michael J., XXX-XXXX
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Godwin, Rex A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gold, Byroll M., Woxey
Golightly, George A., XXX-XX-XXX
Golson, Bruce W., XXX-XX-XXXX Goltz, Mark N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gonyea, Gregory T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gonzales, Roy D., xxx-xxxx
Goodman, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goodson, Lonnie C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goodyear, Norman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gordon, Clinton R., yyy,yy,yyy
Gordon, Grant, D., III., XXX-XX-XXXX Gordon, Homer R, II., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gordon, Homer R. II. XXX-XX-XXXX
Gordon, Scott R., XXX-XX-XXXX Gordon, Stephen R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gore, Monnie L., Jr., XXX-XXXXX
Gorenc, Stanley, xxx-xx-xxx
Gormley, William E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Goss, William G., YYYYYY
Gossett, Gary E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gouin, Richard, XXX-XX-XXXX
Gourdin, Kent N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Grabowiecki, Norbert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grace, Donald R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Graham, Douglas B., xxx-xx-xxx
Gramm, Barry E., XXX-XX-XXXX Grandy, Charles J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Grant, Bruce C., XXX-XX-XXX
Grant, Douglas A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Grant, Steven B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gration, Jonathan S., VVVVVVVV
Gravely, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Graves, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gray, George, R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gray, Rex L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gray, Timothy S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grayson, Alan R., XXX-XX-XXXX Greco, Rosanne M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Green, James W., XXX-XXXX
Green, Robert C., XXX-XXXX
Greene, Charlotte, XXX-XXXX
Greene, Warren M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Greenwood, James R., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Greene, Warren M. XXX-XX-XXXX Greenwood, James R., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Greer, Darrel R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Greene, Warren M. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Greene, Warren M. Greenwood, James R., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
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Greene, Warren M. Greenwood, James R., Jr., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

21418
Hall, Richard H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hall, Terry L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hall, William H., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Halpin, Senan, xxx-xxxxxx
Ham, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hambleton, Orris N., XXX-XX-XXXX Hamby, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hamilton, Dale E., XXX-XXXX
Hammell, Scott A., XXX-XXXXX
Hammond, Lloyd B., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hancock, Allan F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hankins, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanna, Charles L., XXX-XX-XXXX Hannah, Norman A., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hansen, Donald H., XXX-XX-XXX
Hansen, James L., XXX-XXXX
Hansen, Kevin P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hansen Larry A., yyy,yy,yyy
Hansen, Robert W., XXX-XX-XXXX Hansen, Steven L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hansen, Steven L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hansen, Timothy J., XXX-XX-XXXX Hanson, David T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hanson, Ronald L., II, XXX-XXXX
Harbeck, William L., XXX-XXXX
Harbeck, William L., XXX-XX-XXXX Harding, Richard S., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hargis, Mark B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harkness, Timothy, XXX-XX-XXXX
Harmon, Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harper, George C., XXX-XX-XXXX Harrell, Joseph E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harrigan, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harrigan, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX Harrington, Patricia J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harriott, Arthur V., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Harris, Clyde J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Gary R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harris, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX Harris, John F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harris, Larry H. XXX-XX-XXXX
Harris, Larry H., XXX-XX-XXXX Harris, Roger K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harris, Steven W., XXX-XX-XXXX Harris, Wayne N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harris, Wayne N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harrison, Glenn H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harrison, Herbert A., XXX-XX-XXXX Harrison, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hart, Harold D., XXX-XXXX
Hart, Thomas J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hartinger, James V., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hartle, Byron C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hartman, Frank S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hartman, John S., XXX-XXXXX
Harvey, Richard L., XXX-XX-XXXX Harwood, Jeffrey W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hashisaki, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hastings, Larry G., Jr., xxx-xxxxx
Hataway, Clayton M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hatcher, Robert B., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Hatfield, David M., XXX-XX-XXXX Hathorn, Ray R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Haupt, Stuart L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hauser, Peter J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawk, Richard D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hawkins, Edwin P., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Hayes, Timothy W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Haylett, Dean H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hayward Norman E XXX-XX-XXXX
Hazen, Rodney E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hayward, Norman E., XXX-XXXX Hazen, Rodney E., XXX-XX-XXX Head, Danny C., XXX-XX-XXXX Healy, Roger F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Healy, Roger F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Heath, Justin H., XXX-XX-XXXX Heath, Rolen S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Heberling, Michael E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Heely, William E., XXX-XXXX
Heese, Allan A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hegedus, Carl J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Heil, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX Heisch, Harold V., XXX-XX-XXXX
Heisch, Harold V., XXX-XXXX
Heisey, Edward A., XXX-XX-XXX
Hemmens, William T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Heishman, Kenneth L., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Henderson, Marvin J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Henderson, Marvin J., Hendricks, Howard L., Hendricks, Richard J.,
Hendricks, Richard J., XXX-XX-XXXX Hendrix, Sylvester, XXX-XX-XXXX

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Henning, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Henry, Kenneth L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hernandez, Maximino V., xxx-x
Hicks, Alfred B., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hicks, Jonathan, XXX-XX-XXXX
Higdon, Dorsey E., Jr., XXX-XX-XXX
Hines, John W., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hinnerichs, Terry D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hitzelberger, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hnizdor, Darrell N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hofmockel, Kenneth L., XXX-XX-XXX
Hogue, Clifford J., Jr., XXX-XX-XXX
Hogue, Clifford J., Jr., XXXXXX
Hogue, Linn E., XXXXXXXX
Holden, Jolly T., XXXXXXX
Hollins, Eddie C., XXXXXXX
Hollon, Danny, XXXXXXXX
Holman, John W., XXXXXXXX
Holmden, Robert E., XXXXXXXX
Holmen, Timothy A., XXX-XX-XXX
Holum, Wayne K., XXX-XX-XXX
Hooten, Robert L., XXX-XXXX
Hoover, Alan D., XXX-XXXXX
Hoover, Don W., XXX-XXXXX
Hopfer, Wayne E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hopkins, Dennis W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Horn, John F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Horne, Barry E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Houghes, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX
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Houpt, Douglas W., xxx-xx-x Huber, Herbert E., XXX-XX-XXXX Hudson, Joseph M., XXX-XXXXX Hudson, Robert B., XXX-XXXXX Hull, Philip W., XXX-XX-XXX Hulsey, Douglas M., Jr., XXXXXXX Hulsey, Jon A., XXXXXXX Humphress, Patrick D., XXXXXXX Humphrey, Robert L., XXXXXXXX Humphrey, Stephen A., XXX-XXXXX Hundley, David R., XXX-XXXXX Hutchings, Dennis N., XXX-XX-XXXX Hutchings, Robert K., XXX-XXXX Isett, John B., XXX-XX-XXXX Isett, John B., XXXXXXXX
Isgro, Benjamin A., II, XXXXXX
Isner, William A., XXXXXXX
Isom, Larry W., XXXXXXXX
Ivey, Ronald D., XXXXXXXX
Jabour, William J., XXXXXXXX
Jackson, Collins M., XXXXXXXX
Jackson, Hudson N., XXXXXXXX Jackson, Terry V. XXX-XX-XXXX Jackson, William H., XXX-XX-XXX Jacoway, James C., XXX-XXXX Jaczinski, John S., XXX-XXXXX Jaecks, Donald J., XXX-XXXXX James, Kenneth P., XXX-XX-XXX Jankowski, David A., XXX-XX-XXX January, Ibra B., XXX-XX-XXXX Jaremko, Joseph E., XXX-XX-XX Jargstorf, John W., XXX-XXXX Jarman, Leonard L., XXX-XXXX Jenkins Harold, XXX-XXXXX Jenkins, John D., XXX-XXXX Jenks, Charles F., Jr., XXXXXX Jensen, David W., XXXXXXXX Jensen, Gary M., XXXXXXXX Jensen, Larry L., XXXXXXXX Jensen, Terry W., XXXXXXXXX Jensen, Terry W., XXXXXXXXX Jeral, Robert P., XXXXXXXX Jermunson, Deborah L., XXXXXX Jernigan, Robert H., XXXXXXXX Jershe, Frank J., XXXXXXXX Jester, William L., XXXXXXXX Jewell, Donald L., XXXXXXXXX Johanson, Douglas K., XXXXXXXX Johns, Mickey D., XXXXXXXXX Johns, Willard C., Jr., XXXXXXXXX

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Johnson, Clarence A., XXX-XXXXX
Johnson, Donald W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Johnson, Ferdinand B., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Johnson, Glenn R., XXXXXXXX
Johnson, Gordon J., Jr., XXXXXXXX
Johnson, James M., III.
Johnson, Joseph S., III, xxx-xx-xxx
Johnson, Joseph S. III. XXXXXXXX Johnson, Mark R... XXXXXXXX Johnson, Noel G., XXXXXXXX Johnson, Richard E., XXXXXXXX Johnson, Richard E., XXXXXXX Johnson, Ronald G., XXXXXXX Johnston, Bruce B., XXXXXXXX Johnston, Bruce B., XXXXXXXXX Johnston, Glen A.
Johnston, Glen A., XXX-XXXXX
Johnston, Rick A., XXX-XXXXX
Jones, Homer D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Karl, Lawrence A., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Karoglou, Theodore N., II, XXX-XX-XXXX
Keethler, Gregory A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kehias, George A., XXX-XX-XXXX
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Kehler, Claude R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Keifer, James V., XXX-XX-XXXX
Keith, Bill B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kieffer, Susan M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kincart, Jack L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kinel, Joseph R., XXX-XXXXX
Kley, Edgar P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kline, Timothy L., XXX-XX-XXX
Koopmans, Kenneth W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kopala, Carole J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kovalek, John, XXX-XX-XXXX
Kraby, Jerome O., XXX-XX-XXX
Krafft, Gregory W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kraft, Stuart A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kraha, Donald E., XXX-XXXXX
Kramer, Sandra M., XXX-XXXXX
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Krans, Raymond L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Krasnicki, Philip C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ladieu, John D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lahart, Michael E.,
                       XXX-XX-XXXX
Lamos, Marvin B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lamphere, Kris E., XXX-XX-XXXX
 Lampman, Richard L., XXX-XX-XXX
Lapierre, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Lapoint, Gerald W., xxx-xx-xxx
Lapusheski, Charles, XXXXXXXX
Larivee, Ronald L., XXXXXXXX
Larned, Thomas H., XXXXXXXXX
Larsen, Edwin M., XXXXXXXXX
Larsen, William K., XXXXXXXX
Larson, Dale L., XXXXXXXXXX
Lasalvia, James M., XXXXXXXXX
 Last, Daniel P., XXX-XX-XXXX
 Latham, William W., XXX-XX-XXXX
 Latino, Rocco A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Laubenthal, Sanders A., XXX-XX-XX
Lauderdale, Earle C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Layne, Douglas E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lazar, John S., II. XXXXXXX
Leaf, Daniel P., XXXXXXXX
Leake, Barry, XXXXXXXXX
Leal, Robert A., XXXXXXXXX
Leaming, Richard L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Legun, Thomas A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lehr, Frederick F., XXX-XXXXX
Leimbach, Rudy C., XXX-XXXX
Leitner, Dryden J., XXX-XXXXX
Lennon, Mark P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lentz, Thomas L., XXX-XX-XXXX
```

21420
Lesher, Lee A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lesko, Andrew J., XXX-XX Letourneau, Robert J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lewallen, Jerry C., xxx-xx-xxx
Lewallen, Jerry C., XXX-XX-XXXX Lewandowski, Karl F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lewandowski, Kenneth M., XXX-XX-XXXX Lewin, Haldon D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lewis, Dale D. VVV VV VVVV
Lewis, Ellen K., XXX-XX-XXXX Lewis, Logan M., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Lewis, Paul C., VVVVVVVV
Lewis, Sanford C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Liesveld, Rodney P., xxx-xx-xxxx Liller, Philip M., xxx-xx-xxx
Lineberger, Vance E., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Links, Kirk K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Linn, Robert G., Jr., XXX-XXXXX Linnell, Robert S., Jr., XXX-XXXXX
Linnemann, Jean L. XXXXXXXXXX
Lint, George B., XXX-XX-XXXX Liotta, Robert J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lipski, Joseph. xxxxxxxxx
Little Craig M
Little, Craig M., XXX-XX-XXXX Littlejohn, Ian B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Littley, Daniel M., Jr., YYY-YY-YYYY
Littreal, Ralph S., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Livermore, Loren W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lloyd, Connee, xxx-xx-xxxx
Lloyd, Douglas H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Locklear, Glen D., XXX-XX-XXXX Loeffler, Joel A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Loerakker, George A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lohmann, Gary B., XXX-XXXXX
Lombard, Brian E., XXX-XX-XXXX
London, George G., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Long, Joseph H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Longley, Alan K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Longshore, Harvey B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx Love, Francis E., xxx-xxxx
Lovell John C. VVVVVVV
Lovell, Larry W., XXXXXXXXX Lowe, Joseph W., XXXXXXXX Lucas, Albert T., XXXXXXXXX
Lucas, Albert T., xxx-xx-xxx
Lucas, David G., XXX-XX-XXXX Luloff, Gary I., XXX-XX-XXXX
Liunstord, Jerry W., J. D. D. D. C.
Lunsford, Ronald B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Lutz, Rollin J., Jr., xxx-xxxxx
Luzitano, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Lynch, Charles E., III. XXX-XX-XXXX
Lynch, James M., XXX-XXXXX Lyons, Barry W., XXX-XXXXX
Lyons, Barry W., XXX-XX-XXXX Macartor, Neal C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Macchia, Peter, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Machovina, George S., XXX-XXXX
MacPherson, Craig K., yyy,yyyy
Maddock, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maddox, Richard M., XXX-XX-XXXX Maddox, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mael. Richard D., yyy,yy,yyy
Magargee, Peter H., XXX-XX-XXXX Magee, William J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Magill, William E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Magness, Michael P., XXX-XXXXX Maguire, Patricia K., XXX-XXXXX
Mahaffey, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maher, Roger D., xxxxxxxxxx
Maher, Steven M., XXX-XX-XXXX Major, Keith D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maker, James W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Malberg, Eugene A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mallon, Terrance J., XXX-XX-XXXX Mandra, Ronan A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mandy, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Manfredi, John T., XXX-XX-XXXX Mangieri, Joseph M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mann, John C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Manship, Julian T., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Mardiguian, Armen E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maricle, Wayne S., XXX-XXXX

Mariotti, Joe R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mariamaa, David E., XXXXXXXXX
Marker James A Jr voccoccocc
Markle, Edwin G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Markle, Edwin G., XXX-XXXXX Markley, Robert E., XXX-XXXX
Marks, Edward E.
Marks, James W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Marquez, Hector M., XXXXXXXXX
Marsh, Robert A., Jr. XXX-XX-XXXX
Marsh, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, Charles P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, Charles P., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Marshall, Robert D., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martell, Charles A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martin, Charles R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martin, Dane R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Danner, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Danner, III. xxx-xx-xxxx Martin, Glyn D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Jackie R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martin, James H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martin, John M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martine, Denton L., xxx,xx,xxx
Martinez, Jimmie G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Marveski, Joseph P. VVV VV VVVV
Massey, Grady W., Jr., xxxxxxxxxx
Mastromichalis, Michael J., VVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVV
Matthews, Cynthia A., yyy,yy,yyy
Matthews, Lyle B, III, XXXXXXXXX
Matthews, Mary K., YYY, YYYY
Matthews, Oliver, II. xxx-xx-xxxx
Mattingly, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maude, David A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maunder, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maurer, Alfred C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maxey, Ronald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maxson, Harry P., II, XXX-XX-XXXX
Mayberry, Thomas L. VVVVVVVVV
Mayer, Claude C., XXX-XX-XXX
Mayer, Fred A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mayer, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mayhew, Mark E. S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Mazur, Peter W., XXX-XX-XXXX
McAlduff, David W., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
McAlister, Daniel C., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCallister, Michelangelo, xxxxxxxxxxx
McCamley, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX
McCarter Renjamin E. vvv vv vvv
McCarthy, Donald J., XXX-XX-XXXX McCarthy, Michael F., XXX-XX-XXXX
McCarthy, Michael F., XXX-XX-XXXX
McCartny, Robert M.,
McCartney, John H., Jr., xxx-xxxxxx
McCauley, Stephens F., vvv vv vvvv
McClain, Herbert P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCollom, Kathleen T., yyy,yyyy
McConnell, Michael N., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCormack, Ford H., yyy,yyyy
McCormick, James H., XXX-XX-XXXX
McCoy, Gary T., XXX-XX-XXXX
McCoy, Lorna G., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCrabb, Maris, xxx-xx-xxxx
McCracken, Portia R., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCullough Clifton VVVVV
McDaniel, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX McDaniel, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXXX
McDaniel, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXXX
McDermott, Edwin P., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDevitt, John A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
McDevitt, Phillip A., XXX-XX-XXXX
McDonald, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, Thomas J., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
McDonald, William M., XXX-XX-XXXX
McDonnell, Robert E., XXX-XX-XXXX
McElroy, Thomas L., XXX-XX-XXXX
McElvain, Scott C., xxx-xx-xxxx
McElveen, Cornelius, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX McElveen, Walter W., XXX-XX-XXXX
McFarland, Thomas P., Jr., XXX-XXXX
McGaha, James E., XXX-XX-XXXX
McGann, Michael J., XXX-XXXX
McGilvra, Timothy G., xxx-xxxx
McGinnis, Michael H., XXX-XX-XXXX
McGirr, Richard V., WYYYYYY
McGirr, Richard V., XXX-XX-XXXX
McGowan, Regenia P. XXX-XXXX
McGowan, Regenia P. XXX-XXXX
McGirr, Richard V., XXX-XX-XXXX

McIntosh, David M., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX McLaughlin, David M., XXX-XXXXX McMahan, Michael P., XXX-XXXX McMeans, Bobby E., XXX-XX-XXXX McRee, Julius R., XXX-XX-XXXX McWilliams, Milton B., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Medley, James E., XXX-XXXXX Medlin, John M., XXX-XX-XXXX Meinhart, Richard M., XXX-XX-XX Mercer, Roosevelt, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Middleton, Harley W., Jr., XXXX
Mielke, Charles M., XXXXXXX
Miklos, William J., XXXXXXXX
Miles, Donald W., XXXXXXXXX
Miller, Andrew S., XXXXXXXXX Milligan, John C., XXX-XX-XXXX Mills, Alan D., XXX-XX-XXXX Miner, Robert C., XXXXXXX
Miner, Robert C., XXXXXXX
Mink, Leroy W., XXXXXXXX
Minnich, Alan D., XXXXXXXXX
Minto, David W., XXXXXXXXX Minto, Paul E., XXX-XX-XXX

July 27, 1984	
Mitchell, William T.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mize, Robert W., XXX	(-XX-XXXX
Mlinar, Anthony J.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mobiley, Robert E.,	XX-XX-XXXX
Moffett Bruce N	-XX-XXXX
Modlin, Gary T., XX Moffett, Bruce N., X Mogge, John W., Jr.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mohr, John F., Jr.,	YY YY YYYY
Moline, William P.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Monroe, Arthur J.,	(XX-XX-XXXX
Monroe, Franklin B., Moore, Danny J., XX	XXX-XX-XXXX
Moore, David R., XX	X-XX-XXXX X-XX-XXXX
Moore, Jerry J., XXX	-XX-XXXX
Moore, Joseph J., XX	X-XX-XXXX
Moore, Joyce M., XX	X-XX-XXXX
Moore, Julian M., III Moore, Kenneth D.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Moore, Kenneth L.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Moore, Richard H.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Moore, William H.	YYY-YY-YYYY
Moores, Charles D.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Moorman, Cecil J.,	XX-XX-XXXX
Mooy, Peter R., XXX- Moran, Francis M.,	XXX-XXXX
Moran, William J.,	XX-XX-XXXX
Moran, William J., Morgan, Barry G.,	XX-XX-XXXX
Morgan, John D., Morgan, Maurice A., Moriarty, Clifford F.	X-XX-XXXX
Morianty Clifford P	XXX-XX-XXXX
Morlan, Bruce W., X	XXX-XX-XXXX YY-YY-YYYY
Morris, Charles E.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Morris, Steven B., X	XX-XX-XXXX
Morris, Ted A., Jr.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Morrison, Donald H.	XXX-XX-XXXX
Moser, Ralph L. XX	X-XX-XXXX
Moses, Glenn E., XX Mosier, Michael L.,	XXX-XXXX
Mosley, Clyde A., XX	X-XX-XXXX
Mosora, James A., X	XX-XX-XXXX
Mosso, Karl J., XXX-	(X-XXXX
Moudry, James A.,	(XX-XX-XXXX
Moulds, David C., X	(X-XX-XXXX (X-XX-XXXX
Moyer, Barton J., X Mudd, Bernard M.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mudge, Wayne L.	(X-XX-XXXX
Mueller, Donald J.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mueller, Raymond J., Mueller, Richard J.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Muhle, Gary K., XX	
Mulhare, Ross E., X	XX-XX-XXXX
Mulhare, Ross E., X Mullaney, Patrick C	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mullenax, John O.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mullin Charles N	XXX-XX-XXXX
Mullin, Charles N., Mullinax, Donald D.	XXX-XX-XXXX YYY-YY-YYYY
Mundy, Albert L.	XX-XX-XXXX
Mundy, Albert L., X Munhall, Douglas S.	XXX-XX-XXXX
Munk, Bruce E., XX	CXX-XXXX
Munk, Michael L., X Munoz, Robert F., X	XX-XX-XXXX
Munsey Donald E.	The YYY,YY,YYYY
Murdock, Gary L.,	(XX-XX-XXXX
Murphy, Dennis A.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Murphy, Kevin A., Murphy, Thomas J., Murrell, Marion J.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Murphy, Thomas J.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Musgrave, Paul D.,	XXX-XX-XXXX XXX-XX-XXXX
Musick, John D., XX	X-XX-XXXX
Myhre Steven D.	XX-XX-XXXX
Myrick, Karen H., X Nacke, Alan T., XXX	XX-XX-XXXX
Nacke, Alan T., XXX-	XX-XXXX
Nance Joe W	XX-XX-XXXX
Naigle, William J., XXXX Nance, Joe W., XXXX Nance, William T., X	XX-XX-XXXX
Napolitano, Ciliford	XXX-XX-XXXX
Nastasi Joseph P	VVV VV VVVV
Nation, Dolf C., XXX	-XX-XXXX
Naumann Gerald W	XXX-XXX-XXXXX
Nation, Dolf C., XX Naum, Michael C., Naumann, Gerald W Nawrocki, Paul A.,	XXX-XX-XXXX
Neal, Donald W., XX Nebel, Robert W., XX Needham, Paul M.,	X-XX-XXXX
Nebel, Robert W., X	XX-XX-XXXX
Needham, Paul M.,	XXX-XX-XXXX

TOTAL TELEVISION .
Neifert, Marc J., xxx-xx-xxx
Nellie Michael C
Nellis, Michael S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nelsen, Clark K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nelsen, Donald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nelson, Gale N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nelson, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Malan James B
Nelson, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nelson, Louise M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nelson, Porter E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nelson Rodney E. vvv vv vvvv
Neuhard, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX Neumann, David K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Naumann David K vov vy voor
Money Thereas I
Neve, Trevor L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nevins, John M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Newby, Jonathan D., IV, XXX-XX-XXXX
Newcome, Laurence R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Newell, Harold W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Newgreen Walter F. Jr. VVVVVVVV
Newsom, Gary K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Newsoni, Gary K., MANA
Newton, John S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Newton, Ronald A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nichols, Bruce A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nichols, Robert E., II, XXX-XX-XXXX
Nichols, Roger L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nicholson, Kenneth M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nicholson, Thomas M., XXX-XXXXX
Nickerson, Eric J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nicklin, Donald S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nido, Jose E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nielsen, Steven R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Niemiec, Gregory J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nighbert, Kenneth P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Million Month E
Nilius, Mark E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nipper, Johnny B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nisbet, Alex H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nishimuta, Michael P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nishimuta, Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX Nistico, George T., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Noble, Edwin E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Noble Temoria
Noble, Lamont A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nolan, Geoffrey L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nolen, Lawrence D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nolen, Mark J. A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nolly, George E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Norman, Norman D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Norris, Steven L., xxx-xx-xxxx
North, William C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Norwood, Peter W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Noss, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Noto, Vincent C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nowlan, Kenneth E., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nuttbrock, Dennis L., xxx-xx-xxx
Oakley, Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX
O'Berbillig, Ronald M., XXX-XX-XXXX
O'Bering, Henry A., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
O'Bermann, Elston E., XXX-XX-XXXX
O'Brien, George R., XXX-XX-XXXX
O'Bringer, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
O'Callaghan, Kevin W., xxx-xx-xxx
O'Connor, Gerald T., XXX-XX-XXXX
O'Don Diebond D
O'Den, Richard E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Oeser, James L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ohlamaiar Tarry D 100(1000)
Onlemeter, Terry D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ohlemeier, Terry D., XXX-XX-XXXX Ohman, Arthur A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXX-XXXXX Oliger, Leland D., XXX-XXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXX-XXXXX Oliger, Leland D., XXX-XXXXX
Oliger, Leland D., XXX-XX-XXXX Oliverson, Michael G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Oliger, Leland D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Oliger, Leland D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Oliger, Leland D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Ohman, Arthur A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Parker, Donald W., Jr., XXXXXXXX
Parker, James P., XXXXXXX
Parker, Melvin J., XXXXXXX
Parker, Richard A. XXXXXXX
Parker, Scott D., XXXXXXX
Parker, Thomas E., XXXXXXX
Parker, Tony W., XXXXXXX
Parkman, Timothy B., XXXXXXX Parkman, Thiothy B., XXXXXXX
Parkman, Carlo A., XXXXXXX
Parrington, Carol A., XXXXXXX
Parsell, William F., Jr., XXXXXXX
Parsons, William E., XXXXXXX Partenheimer, Dennis R., XXX-XX-XXXX Paschkewitz, John J., XXX-XX-XXXX Patel, Mahendra K.,
Patheaud, Edward L.,
Patrick, Michael R.,
Patrick, Nicholas,
Patrick, Nicholas,
Patrick, Nicholas,
Patrick, Nicholas,
Patrick, Nicholas,
Patrick, Nicholas, Perez, Gregory D., XXX-XX-XXXX Perona, Andrew D., XXX-XX-XXXX Perrie, Alfred H., XXX-XXXXX Perry, Gregg T., XXX-XX-XXXX Perry, Ricky, A., XXX-XX-XXXX Pershing, Marvin E., XXXXXXXXX
Peter, Thomas W., XXXXXXXX
Petersen, John J., XXXXXXXX
Peretson, Charles V., XXXXXXXX
Peterson, Douglas B., XXXXXXXXX

Peterson, Stephen M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Peterson, Teresa M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Petitpren, Michael J., vvv vv vvvv
Petkunas, Dannie W., XXX-XXXX
Petrin, Leo J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Petro, John, xxx-xx-xxxx
Pettersen, Eric M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Petty, Larry L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pfeifer, Lawrence E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Phelan, Edward D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Phelps, John N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Phillips, Albert L., Jr., yyy,yyyy
Phillips, Robert W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Phillips, Ronald V. VVVVVVVVV
Phillips, Terrence M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Philipps, Melvin L., VVVVVVVVVV
Pickens, Thomas B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Picton, Mrgaret A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Piepmeier, Jerry D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pierdominici, Paul, xxx-xx-xxxx
Pieropan, Richard, xxx-xxxxx
Pierre, Daniel J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pierson, Robert E., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pinter, Michael W., XXX-XXXXX Pitcher, Barry W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pitengiel Paul A
Pitcovich, Paul A., XXX-XX-XXXX Pletcher, Denver L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Plucker Wayne G Vocyogo
Plucker, Wayne G., XXX-XX-XXXX Plummer, John F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Plunkett Robert P
Plunkett, Robert P., XXX-XXXXX Poburka, Henry W., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Polit Havin P. VVV VV VVVV
Pollard, Marshall, C., XXX-XX-XXXX Pomerenke, David T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pomerenke, David T. VVV VV VVV
Pompa, Kenneth W., xxx-xxxx
Poole, Gary S., xxx-xx
Pope, John P. XXX-XX-XXX
Pope, Thomas J., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Popovich, James E., xxxxxxxxxx
Portele, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Porter, Dale E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Porter, Delewis O., XXX-XX-XXXX
Porter, Delewis O., XXX-XX-XXXX Porter, Douglas S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Porter, Steven A., yyy,yy,yyy
Porter, Tommy W., XXX-XX-XXXX Potere, Thomas P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Potere, Thomas P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Potter, Jackie C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Potter, John P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Potts, William E., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Pounds, Phillips B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Powell, Gordon K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Power, Michael W., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Power, Richard D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Powers, Kevin W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Powers, Victor C., XXX-XX-XXXX Pradier, Jerome M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Praesel, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxx
Prater, Roy W., XXX-XX-XXX
Pratt, Carolyn L., xxx-xx-xxx
Pratt, Frank H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Preisser, Alan D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Presson, Charles, E., II. xxxxxxxxx
Presson, Charles, E., II. XXX-XX-XXXX Preston, Michael C., XXX-XXXX
Pretz, John M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Price Betty I vov vy vooc
Price, James D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Price, Richard N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Price, William H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Price, William L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Prideaux, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Prill, Mark E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pritchett, Joe E., XXX-XX-XXXX Proctor, Max L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Proctor, Max L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Propert, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Prynne, Ronald D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Puckett, James E., XXX-XXXXX
Pudwill, Gary L., XXX-XXXX
Pulchar Tarret L VXX XXX
Pulcher, Larry J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pullen, Kenneth, L., xxx-xx-xxxx Putz, Randall, xxx-xx-xxxx
Quackenbush, David J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Quick, Stephen R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Quinn, John D., XXX-XX-XXXX

T	NGKESSIONAL RECORD—SE	31.
	Quinn, Ronald W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Quintanilla, Eugene H., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Rabins, John M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Radebaugh, Bruce C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Radov, Larry G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rake, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Rakip, Russell E., Jr., xxx-xxxxx	
	Ramos, Angel R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Rampulla, George M., XXX-XX-XXXX Randall, David F., XXX-XX-XXXX	7.
	Randles, Andrew E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Randolph, Stephen T., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Ranft, Andrew J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rangel, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rankin, Clifford A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Raper, Roger G., xxx-xx-	
	Raska, Edward, Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rasmussen, Rodney R., yyyyyyy	
	Rasmussen, Terry R., XXX-XXXXX	
	Ratliff, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Rattray, Gary E., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
	Rausch, Robert J., XXXXXXXXX	
	Ravgiala, Alfred M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rawls, Charles A., XXX-XXXX	
	Ray, Randall P., XXX-XX-XXX	
	Ream, Thomas J., XXX-XX-XXXX Reavis, Frederick J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rebhun, Marc I., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rech, Arnold W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Redmann, Steven J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Reece, Walter E., Jr., xxx-xxxx	
	Reed, Norman C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Reed, Stalker E., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Reed, Stalker E., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Reedy, George K., Jr., xxx-xxxx	
	Reese, Robert C., xxx-xx	
	Regan, Dennis P., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Regan, Dennis P., XXX-XX-XXXX Regehr, Walter F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rener, Raymond W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rehn, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Reid, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Reider, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Reilman, Robert F., Jr., xxx-xxxx	
	Reinert, Robert F., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Reisenger, James R., XXX-XXXXX	
	Reiter, Jeffrey L., XXX-XXXX	
	Remol, John C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Remorenko, Randolph, yyyyyyyy	
	Rendon, Tiburcio R. Jr. VVVVVVVV	
	reeliko, Gregory J.,	
	rectiset, Detinis J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rensing, Larry, XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rever, Louis K., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Reynolds, Charles M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Rice, Dennis D., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Richards, Claude N., Jr. xxx-xx-xxx	
	Richards Jon R., XXX-XXXX	
	Richardson, Douglas J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Richardson, Edwin S. III. XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Richardson, Frederick C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Richardson, Gregory M., VVVVVV	
	Richardson, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Richter, Douglas W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Riddle, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Ridenour, Neil R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
ĝ	Riggs, Keith H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rigsbee, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Ì	Rihner, Randolph R., XXX-XX-XXX	
ß	Rij, Jerry J., XXX	
	Riley, Cunningham Barbara, U., XXX-X	(
	Riley, John R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Rippon, George G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
	Risch, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
	Risley, Perry W., XXX-XXXX	
þ	Rismiller, James R. S., XXX-XX Ritchhart, Kenneth M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
ĺ	The state of the s	

Ritter, William F., XXXXXXX Rivera, Ramon, XXXXXXXXX Roach, Michael P., XXXXXXXX

Roach, Ronald H., XXX-XX-XXX Roberts, Raymond J., xxx-xx-xx Rodefer, Joanne, M. xxx-xx-xxx Rodriguez, Pedro. XXXXXXXXX Rodriguez, Rogelio, XXXXXXXX Roe, Russell E., XXXXXXXX Roeder, Catherine A., XXX-XX-XXXX Rogacki, John R., XXX-XX-XXXX Rogers, Samuel L., XXX-XX-XXX Rogers, Samuel W., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Rogers, Samuel W., Jr., XXXXXXX
Rohr, Terry D., XXXXXXXX
Rolando, John A., XXXXXXX
Rolsen, John A., XXXXXXX
Romack, Edward E., XXXXXXX
Roodhouse, David A., XXXXXXX
Rooney, Patrick J., XXXXXXXX
Root, James E., XXXXXXXX
Rosa, John W., Jr., XXXXXXXXX
Rose, Charles L., Jr., XXXXXXXXX
Rose, Phillip L., XXXXXXXXXX Ross, John L., XXX-XXXXX Ross, Thermadell S., XXX-XX Rothwell, William J., Jr., XXX-XX Rothramel, James E., XXX-XX-XXXX Round, David A., XXX-XX-XXXX Rowe, Richard D., XXX-XX-XXX Rowse, Dale D., xxx-xx-xxxx Rush, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX Rush, Timothy R., XXX-XX-XXXX Sabin, Phillip D., XXX-XX-XXXX Saflarski, Edward G., XXX-XX-XXXX

duty 21, 1904	-
Salter, Harry L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sampson, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Sand, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Sanford, Henry N., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Santure, Michael C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sato, Steven S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sanders, Thomas H., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Savage, Richard M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Savage, Robert M., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Say, Michael E., Jr., xxx-xxxx	
Saylor, Max W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Scaperotto, Charles S., xxx-xxxx Scearce, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Schaefer, Charles P., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schaefer, Verne S., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Schafer, Paul E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schaffner, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX Schaller, Richard XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schaunaman, Herbert H., Jr., XXX-XX-X	XXX
Scheibler, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Schiefer, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXX	
Schiermeyer, James J., XXX-XX-XXXX Schindele, Kenneth H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schlafli, William E., XXX-XX-XXX	
Schlapkohl, Orval J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Schmidt, Tommy B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schneider, William L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schoning, Mark W., xxx-xxxx	
Schoolcraft, Alan W., XXX-XX-XXXX Schrank, William J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schreurs, Gregory W., XXX-XXXX	
Schroeder, Steven R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schrupp, David M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schuler, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schultz, Daniel C., xxx-xxxx Schulz, Wayne P., xxx-xxxx	
Schuster, Alexander, xxx-xx-xxxx	
Schwandt, Roland L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Schwinn, Charles R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sconyers, James C., xxx-xxxx	
Scott, Darryl A., XXX-XX-XXXX Scott, Josh L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Scott, Robin E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Scott, Ronald J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Scully, James E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Seavey, James C., XXX-XX-XXXX Sebald, Christopher L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sebby, Roger W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Segura, Edward A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Seipel, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Seligmann, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx Seniura, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Sensiba Greg S. XXX-XX-XXXX	
Settle, Samuel E., XXX-XX-XXXX Sewell, William E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sewell, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Seymour, Paul E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sgroi, Anthony S., XXX-XX-XXXX Shaka, Gregory M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shamess, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shamrell, Richard T., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shanahan, David P., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shapiro, Larry, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sharadin, Ellis W., XXX-XX-XXXX Sharp, Donald J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shaw, Warren B., XXX-XXXX	
Shaw, Warren B., XXX-XX-XXXX Sheehan, James S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sheldon, Steven H. J. Co. Co. Co. Co. Co. Co. Co. Co. Co. Co	
Shelhorse, Randy F., III. XXX-XX-XXXX Shelor, Daniel W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shelton, Christopher, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shelton, John R., III, XXX-XX	
Shelton, John R., III, XXX-XX Shelton, William L., XXX-XX-XXX	
Shepard, Randall L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sheperd, Jonathan J., XXX-XX-XXXX Sheppard, Arthur K., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sherck, Charles L. XXX-XXXX	
Sherkus, John P., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sherman, David P., XXX-XX-XXXX Shervanick, Larry T., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shervanick, Larry T., XXX-XXXX	
Sherwood, Arthur J., XXX-XX-XXXX Shield, Robert W., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Shirley, Kenneth E., XXX-XX	
Shishoff, John W., XXX-XX-XXXX	

Charmakan India C. Mariana	
Shoemaker, Jackie G., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Shook, Burton S., II, xxx-xx-xxxx	
Shore, Guy R., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Chart Dahert I 20000000	
Short, Robert J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Short, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Shub, Stephen M., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Chart Harris C. III	
Shutt, Harry G., III, xxx-xx-xxxx	
Silver, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Simek, Peggy O., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Simmons, John H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Simmons, John H., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Simmons, Levon, xxx-xx-xxxx	
Simpson, Terry L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Clara Tarret E 10000000	
Sims, Larry E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sims, Ronald C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Sisk, Robert T., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Claren Timetha I 2000000	
Sisson, Timothy L., XXX-XX-XXXX Sitzmann, Thomas W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sitzmann, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Skidmore, Joanne L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Skipworth, Judith A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Skoch, Bernard K., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Skundrick, Matthew J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Slater, William J. B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Slaveh Carl E Voccoccocc	
Slaugh, Carl E., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Slavens, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Slawter, Burce D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Slayton, John F., xxx-xxxxx	
Smethurst, Ann O., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Abraham, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Billy C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Bobby G., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith Dillon C VVVVVV	
Smith, Dillon S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Donald F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Douglas B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Gary W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sillitii, Jailles M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Jerry H., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Kenneth D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Larry D., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Lionel G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, McBurnett J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Melbourne L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Smith, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Odell A., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith Odas D. VVVVVVVVV	
Smith, Odes D., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXX-XX-XXXX Smith, Richard V., XXX-XXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Robert F., XXXXXXXXX Smith, Robert F., XXXXXXXXX Smith, Robert F., XXXXXXXX	
Smith, Robert F., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
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Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Smith, Odes D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	

Stafford, Kenneth A., XXX-XX-XXXX Staley, Thomas R., XXX-XX-XXXX Stallworth, Charles E., XXX-XX-XXX Stanley, Stephen L., XXX-XXXX Stanley, William H., XXX-XXXXX Stanton, Alfred E., xxx-xx-xxxx Stanton, Billy J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx Stevens, James L., XXX-XX-XXXX Stevens, Stanley S., XXX-XX-XXXX Stevenson, Lawrence H., XXX-XX-XXXX Stone, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX Stone Terone, XXX-XX-XXXX Stoner, Lee H., II, XXX-XX-XXXX Stover, David R., XXX-XX-XXXX Stpierre, Richard, XXX-XX-XXXX Strain, Glenn C., XXX-XX-XXXX Straiton, Thomas R., xxx-xxxx Stratton, Robert A., xxx-xxxx Straus, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx Strautman, William D., xxx-xx-Stuart, Archie E., XXX-XX-XXXX Stubbs, Bernard D. XXX-XX-XXXX Stucky, Paul R., XXX-XX-XXXX

	21424
	Sullivan, Shawn P., xxx-xx-xxx
	Sullivan, Stephen J., xxx-xxxxx
	Sullivan, Stephen J., XXX-XX-XXXX Sullivan, Wesley B., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Sundell, Charles E., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Suries, Norwood L., VVVVVVVV
	Surman, Richard D., XXX-XXXX
	Sutliff, Thomas O., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Sutton, John B., XXX-XX-XXXX Sutula, Donald G., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Svetz, David P., xxx-xx-xxx
	Svetz, David P., XXX-XX-XXXX Swan, William S., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Sweeney, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Sweeney, John S., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	Sweesy, Thomas L. XXX-XXXX
	Swenson, Daniel G., yyy,yyyy
	Swertfager, Thomas A., xxx-xxxxx
	Swider, Raymond J., Jr., VVVVVVVVV
	Syptak, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Talt. Robert E., XXXXXXXXX
	Talbert, James D., XXX-XX-XXXX Tallon, William B., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Tatchio, Ted A., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Tate Fred A VVVVVVVVV
	Tavener, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Taylor, Donna M., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Taylor, Henry L., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Taylor, Henry L., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	Taylor, Richard M., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Taylor, Stephen G., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Taylor, Stephen G., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	Taylor, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Teague, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Tedor, Thomas P., XXX-XX-XXXX Teepell, Kenneth G., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Teske, Steven J., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Tharter David L. vov vovo
	Thayer, Patrick M., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thayer, Patrick M., xxx-xx-xxxx Thayer, Paula D., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Theobald, James L., XXX-XX-XXXX Thiele, Richard J., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thoma, william C., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	Thomas, Billy G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Thomas, Billy G., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Thomas, Blake W., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thomas, Gregory P., XXX-XX-XXXX Thomas, James P., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thomas, Jules S., XXX-XXXX
	Thomas, Raymond, Jr., yyy,yyyy
	Thomas, Ronald J., XXX-XX-XXXX Thomas, Ronald L., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thomas, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Thomas, Stephen R., XXX-XXXXX
	Thomits, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX Thompson, Daniel N., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thompson, Jimmy W., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thompson, Jimmy W., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	Thompson, K. C., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thompson, Rodney C., xxx-xx-xxxx Thompson, Roosevelt, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
	Thomson, John M., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thomson Larry D. vvv vv vvvv
	Thomson, Timothy J., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thorn, William F., XXX-XX-XXXX Thornberry, Jerry R., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thorsen, Daniel E., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thrash, Jimmy P., XXX-XXXX
	Thrash, Jimmy P., XXX-XX-XXXX Thum, William W., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Thurman, Kenneth R., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Tiahrt, Harold II, xxx-xx-xxxx
	Ticknor, Robert W., xxx-xxxxx
	Tillman, Michael S., XXX-XX-XXXX Tillman, William A., XXX-XX-XXXX
	Tittle, George A., XXX-XX-XXXX
ĺ	Todd David E
	Todd William S. Jr. 1997 1997
	Tittle, George A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	TOIL Lauren L. WYYYYY
	Tolbert, William A., XXXXXXXXXXX Tolbert, William A., XXXXXXXXXX Toler, Phillip L., XXXXXXXXXX
	Toler Phillip I
	101c1, 1 111111p 11., XXX-XX-XXXX

Toles, James E., Jr., xxx-xxxxx
Tomas, Richard E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Tompros. John E., vvv vv vvvv
Topping, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Torango, Philip E., XXX-XXXX Torelli, Ralph M., XXX-XXXX
Torein, Raiph M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Torkelson, Ann H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tormey, Robert J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Torrey, Samuel R., XXX-XXXXX
Totten, William P., XXX-XX-XXXX Towell, Ralph M., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Towle, Richard A., VVV VV VVVV
Townsend, John G., XXX-XX-XXXX Townsend, Shelby M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Townsend, Shelby M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Traition, Cynthia M.,
Trask, Harry A., VVVVVVVVV
Travers, Gerard W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Travis, Charles T., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Trevett, Wealey E., xxx-xx-xxxx Trevino, Jose A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Trevino, Jose A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Trice, Jerry B., XXX-XX-XXXX Triplett, Gary M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Triplett, Gary M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Tripp, Mary M., XXX-XXXXX Trowbridge, Donald C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Troxel, Donald E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Truax, Michael J., XXX-XXX
Trull, Gerald E., XXX-XXXX
Trumble, John A., XXX-XXXXX
Trumbly, John C., yyy,yy,yyy
Tschorke, Thomas E., yyy,yy,yyy
Tubbs, Arthur D., XXX-XX-XXX
Tuck, William C., Jr., VVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVVV
Tucker, Chris L., XXXXXXXX Tucker, Harold W., XXXXXXX Tucker, Jesse R., XXXXXXX
Tucker, Harold W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tucker, Jesse R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tucker, Stevie R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Tulo, Steve J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Turner, Glon D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Turner, Michael F., XXX-XXXX
Turner Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Turner, Michael R., XXX-XX-XXXX Turner, Randall L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Turner, William M., Sr., XXX-XXXXX
Turnipseed, Jon K., xxx-xxxx
Tuson, Andrew R., XXX-XXXX
Tutin, Michael B., yyy,yy,yyy
Tworek, Michael L., yyyyyyy
Tyler, Roger F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Tytor, Joseph M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Uecker, Michael E., yyyyyyy
Uehara, Albert K., XXX-XX-XXXX Ullman, Robert P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ullman, Robert P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Unger, David R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Upehureh, Phillip W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Urben, Francis J., xxx-xx-xxx
Utermoehlen, Clifford M., XXX-XX-XXXX Utley, Arthur L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Utley, Douglas E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Valigura, James F., XXX-XX-XXX
Vallimont, Joseph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vance, Dennis O., XXX-XXXX
Vance, Gary M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Vanderman, Guy R., vvv vv vvvv
Vanderwall, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanelis, Marc. XXX-XX-XXXX
Vanert, James R. VVVVVVVVV
Vanheeswyk, Leslie R., XXX-XX-XXXX Vanlommel, Richard E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Vanlommel, Richard E., XXX-XX-XXXX
vano, wiiliam J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Vanpelt, Carl E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanwey, Jack C., XXX-XX-XXXX Vanzandt, Paul H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Vara, Craig L., XXX-XXXX
Varady, Bertalan J., xxx-xxxx
Vargo, Michael D., XXX-XX-XXX
Varn, George L. E. D., XXX-XXXX
Vaugnan, Ronald J., XXXX
Vechik, Gary L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Vela, Arnoldo, xxx-xx-xxxx
Veldman, Francis E., II. xxx-xx-xxxx
Velino, John A., Jr., xxx-xxxxxx
Vonomo Torre I VVV VV VVV
Total and a series
Venner, Mark E., XXX-XX-XXXX Verano, Miguel, XXX-XX-XXXX

Verschaeve, Douglas D., XXX-XX-Vice, John E., XXX-XX-XXXX Viehe, Thomas F., XXX-XXXXX Wagner, Clarence H. Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Walsh, Edward J., XXX-XX-XXXX Walsworth, Stephen D., XXX-XX-XXXX Warren, Larry D., XXX-XX-XXXX Washington, John L., Jr., XXX-X Waters, David R., XXX-XX-XXXX Waters, Joseph J.,
Waters, Joseph J.,
Waters, Thomas R. E.,
Watford, Larry M.,
Watkins, Ray M.,
Watson, Donald C.,
Watson, Thomas J.,
Watson, Thomas J.,
Wayneboy, Johnsia H. Wauchop, Johnnie H., XXX-XX-XXXX Way, Spencer Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Weinbrenner, Paul R., XXX-XX-XXX Wells, Charles H., XXX-XX-XXX Wells, Lewis F., Jr., XXX-XX-XXX

July 27, 1984	
Wells, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Welsh, Mark A., III, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Welteroth, James R., xxx-xxxxx Wempe, Gerald M., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Wenger, Michael S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wengorek, Edward, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wennermark, Charles D., XXX-XX-	XXXX
Wenzel, Jeffrey H., XXX-XX-XXXX Werner, Kenneth W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Werner, Patrick R., XXX-XXXX	
Wessler, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Wesson, Bruce E., xxx-xx-xxxx West, Walter D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
West, William E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
West, William E., XXX-XX-XXXX Westfall, Ronald L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Westman, Ronald A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Westmoreland, James W., Jr., XX Wetekam, Donald J., XXX-XXXX	X-XX-X
Wharton, Gearld W., YYY,YY,YYYY	
Wheatcraft, Louis S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wheeler, John E., xxx-xx-xxx	
Wheeler, Peyton, III, XXX-XX-XXXX Whitaker, Harry W., III, XXX-XX-X	XXX
Whitaker, Johnny, xxx-xx-xxx	
Whitaker, Johnny, XXX-XX-XXXX Whitaker, Thomas D., XXX-XX-XXX	X
Whitcomb, Bruce E., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
White, Bruce K., XXX-XX-XXXX	
White, David B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
White, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
White, Garold L., XXX-XX-XXXX White, Gerald L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
White, Hal D., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX	
White, Michael A., XXXXXXXXX	
Whitford, David G., XXX-XX-XXXX Whitler, Donald H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Whitley, Alfred H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Whitley, David L., Jr., XXX-XXX	X
Wiatrek, Kenneth J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Wicke, Robert J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wiggins, Tony L., XXX-XX-XXXX Wight, Deane R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wilbanks, Harry W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wilber, Brian H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wild, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX Wilder, Lawrence E., XXX-XX-XXXX	į.
Wilken, Michael J., XXX-XXXX	
Wilkins, Gary, XXX-XX-XXXX	,
Wilkinson, James E., XXX-XX-XXXX	04
Wilkinson, Richard D., xxx-xx-xx Willemsen, Larry J., xxx-xx-xxx	X
Willers, Larry F., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Williams, Ben C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Williams, Ben C., XXX-XX-XXXX Williams, Billy G., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Williams, Charles R., YXX-XX-XXXX	1
Williams, Danny L., xxx-xx-xxxx Williams, Eugene C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Williams, Eugene C., XXX-XXXX	
Williams, George B., xxx-xx-xxx Williams, Harry A., Jr., xxx-xx-xx	XX
Williams, Howard, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Williams, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx Williams, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Williams, John G., XXX-XX-XXXX	~
Williams, Laforrest V., xxx-xx-xxx Williams, Lonnie R., xxx-xx-xxx	
Williams, Matthew D., XXX-XX-XXX Williams, Melissa M., XXX-XX-XXXX	X
Williams, Melissa M., XXX-XX-XXX	1
Williams, Melvin C., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
Williams, Theodore, xxx-xx-xxxx	
Williams, Thomas B., XXX-XX-XXX	1
Williams, Wayne E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Willis, Brian E., XXX-XX-XXXX Willis, David W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Willis, James R., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Willis, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Willis, Stephen B., XXX-XX-XXXX Willison, Daniel P., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wilson, Benjamin W., XXX-XX-XXX	X
Wilson, Boyd L., XXX-XX-XXXX Wilson, Carl B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wilson, Carl B., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wilson, Carl R., XXX-XX-XXXX Wilson, Frank E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Wilson, James L., Jr., XXX-XX-XXX	2
Wilson, Janies L., Jr.,	

XXX

ORLOGICITIE RECORD
Wilson, Richard B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wilson, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilson, William D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wilz, Stephen G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Winchester, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Winegar, Lee E., XXX-XX-XXX
Winstead, Charles L., Jr., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Wippel, Clifford M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wise, Walter P., yyy,yy,yyy
Witbracht, Ivan L., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Withrow, William R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Witkowski, David F., xxx-xx-xxx
Witt, Elsley K., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wittkamp, Patrick L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Woida, Susan L., XXX-XX-XXXX Wojcik, Michael P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Woloszynek Daniel R
Woloszynek, Daniel R., xxx-xx-xxxx Womack, Kenneth W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wood, Rexford O., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wood, Stephen G., xxxxxxxxxx
Woodard, Homer O., XXX-XX-XXXX
Woodford, Paul Q. G., xxx-xx-x
Woodruff, Brian W., Woodruff, Henry M., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Woodruff, Henry M., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Woolman, Guy A., XXX-XXXX
Wootton, Gregory V., XXX-XX-XXXX Worley, Tiron D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Worth, James N., XXX-XXXX
Wozniak, Vincent E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wray, Jack L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wright, John J., XXX-XX-XXXX Wright, Susan M. H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wright, Susan M. H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wright, Ted D., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wrisley, Dale E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wroten, Larry D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wyman, Richard A., XXX-XXXX Wynn, Thomas F., Jr., XXX-XXXX
Yagher, Ray A., Jr., XXX-XXXXX
Yanagi, Cary L. XXX-XXXX
Yarger, John M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yates, Harold G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yates, Larry L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yates, Steven K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yavorsky, Philip G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yeilding, Raymond E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yerly, Alan K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yestness, Steven R., xxx-xxxx
Yoho, Ronald D., XXX-XX-XXXX Yost, Thomas L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, Dale, XXX-XX-XXX
Young, James F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, James M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, Peter W., XXX-XX-XXXX Young, Randall W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, Randall W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Roger A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, Stuart A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, Thomas T., XXX-XX-XXXX Young, Vickie A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Young, Vickie A., XXX-XX-XXX
Youngblood, Elenda S., XXX-XXXXX
Youngquist, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX Zaniewski, Gregory S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Zauner, Paul F., XXX-XX-XXX
Zazula, Frank A., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Zellmer, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Zeman, Joseph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ziegler, Richard L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Zimmerman, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Zimmerman, Ronald D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Zlotkowski, Mark E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Zoerb, Daniel R., XXX-XX-XXXX Zuffoletti, Steven J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Zwirko, Edward J., Jr., XXX-XXXX
CHAPLAIN CORPS
Almond Johnny R
Almond, Johnny R., XXX-XX-XXXX Anthony, Theodore T., XXX-XX-XXXX Armstrong, Danny N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Armstrong, Danny N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Barnett, George B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Blair, John R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Briggs, Kenneth E., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Brogan, Edward T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Burger, Francis J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Chrisley, Karen T., XXX-XX-XXXX

Collins, John M.,
Courter, Walter M., II.,
Courter, Walter M., II.,
Dudash, Harold G.,
Fogltance, Jerry C.,
Golding, Walter E.,
Goodman, John G.,
Gosnell, Wayne E.,
Hess, Stephen D.,
Hess, Stephen D.,
Hess, Stephen D.,
Highfill, Henry B.,
Hinsch, Ray W.,
Homer, Arthur R.,
Law, Charles F.,
Livesay, George B., Jr.,
Livesay, George B., Jr.,
Martin, Melvin E.,
Martin, Melvin E.,
McCahon, Joseph F., Jr.,
Naslund, Sebastian C.,
Naslund, Sebastian C.,
Naslund, Sebastian C.,
Nevello, James P.,
Richardson, Cedil R.,
Revello, James P.,
Richardson, Cedil R.,
Nevello, James P.,
Roth, Gary E.,
Schroeder, David J.,
Schroeder, David J.,
Taylor, Shelby B.,
Wilks, Robert L.,
Jr.,
Wilson, James R.,
Wuerffel, Jon L.,
Weight, Martin, Melvin E.,
Weight, Martin, Melvin E.,
Weight, Martin, Melvin E.,
Taylor, Shelby B.,
Wilks, Robert L.,
Jr.,
Wilson, James R.,
Wuerffel, Jon L.,
Ziegler, Austin H.,

JUDGE ADVOCATE

Wichelns Miles D Moccoccocc
Wichelns, Miles D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wilson, Cleve A., II. XXX-XX-XXXX Winbauer, Carl J., XXX-XX-XXXX
NURSE CORPS
Alverson, Helen M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Anderson, Gary E., XXX-XX-XXXX Anthony, John F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ashbaugh, Ann M., XXX-XX-XXX
Atkins, Dian L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haker James E. VVV VV VVVV
Bannister, Eston L., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bannister, Eston L., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX Barnoski, Deborah M., XXX-XXXXX
Bartels, Betsy, XXX-XX-XXXX
Beam, Jay J., XXX-XX-XXXX Biehl, Carla, XXX-XX-XXXX
Boone Patricia A voc vo voc
Bostek, Chester C., XXXXXXXX
Boone, Patricia A., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Buckley, Robert L., VVVVVVVV
Burke, John F., vvv vv vvvv
Campbell, Philip P., xxx-xx-xxxx Cash, Kathy K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Clark Charles D
Clark, Charles P., XXX-XX-XXXX Cobbs, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Cockburn, Annette J., xxx-xxxx
Collins, Carole S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Conley, Lynda M., vvv vv vvvv
Connors, Ellen A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Connors, Ellen A., XXX-XX-XXXX Cowan, Wayne E., XXX-XXXXX Daniels, Lue D., XXX-XXXXXX
Daniels, Lue D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Daquilalloyd, Edith M. E., XXX-XX-XXX
Darrah, Larry R., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Davenport, Priscilla V., XXXXXXXX
LIBUIS, I DOMBS A. WWW.
Deason, Carol R., XXX-XX-XXXX
DelaTosse, Jodie L., W. C. C.
Dicicco, Deborah L., xxx-xx-xxx
Distelhorst, Gall R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Duke, Philip B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Edwards, Quannetta T., XXX-XXXX
Fagan, Kathryn M., XXX-XXXX
Feeley, John F., XXX-XX-XXXX
France, Deborah S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fuller, Brenda K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Cass Susan M
Gass, Susan M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gilmore, Diane E., xxx,xx,xxxx
Gilmore, Diane E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gilmore, Diane E., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Gilmore, Diane E., XXX-XX-XXXX Gilmore, Samuel W., XXX-XX-XXXX Goodwin, Rebecca A., XXX-XX-XXXX Goss, Virginia F., XXX-XX-XXX Gray, Gary C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gilmore, Diane E., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

TOTAL MECORD	*
Maruszak, Karen L., xxx-xx-xxx	
McCain, Robert E., xxxxxxxxx	
McCurry, Rita L., xxx-xx-xxxx	
McGaw, Helen G., xxx-xx-xxxx McGuire, Peggy A., xxx-xx-xxxx	
McIndoe, Kathleen A., xxx-xx-xxx	
McNamara, Nancy L., yyy,yyyy	
Miller, Judy C., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Mills, Harley A., Jr., vvv vv vvvv	
Minton, Raiph E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Monticello, Joseph A., Jr., XXX-XXXXX Moore, Gary J., XXX-XX-XXXX	1
Moyer, Marie A., XXX-XX-XXX	
Moyer, Marie A., XXX-XX-XXXX Myers, Kenneth E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Nation, Robert C., VVVVV	
Navarro, reamon L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Nester, Robert M., XXX-XX-XXXX Nygaard, Lowell M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Olson, Virginia L., VVV VV VVVV	
O'Phof, Mary A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
O'Rorke, Janice K., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Park, Joyce K., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Patterson, Sharon D., xxx-xx	
Peters, David N., XXX-XX-XXXX Pound, John W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Price, Ralph B., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Puckett, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX Pulliam, Peggy J., XXX-XXXXX Rich, Cletus D., XXX-XXXXX	
Pulliam, Peggy J., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Rich, Cletus D., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Ritchleynelms, Betty, xxx-xx-xxxx Rustvang, Daniel R., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Sherman, Kathryn L., xxx-xxxxx	
Smith, Jimmie M., yyy,yy,yyy	
Stallard, Margaret M., XXX-XX-XXXX Stanley, Sandra L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Stanley, Sandra L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Staton, Murilynne M., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Stauffer, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Stauffer, Michael W., XXX-XX-XXXX Stewart, Patricia E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Stoddard, Peggy A., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Strickland, Margaret E., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Sullivan, Eileen L., XXX-XX-XXXX Summers, Jacquelyn J., XXX-XXXX	
Thompson, Donna D., yyy,yy,yyy	
Thum, Paula E., XXX-XX-XXXX Turner, Dolores H., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Turner, Dolores H., xxx-xx-xxxx	
vanderburg, Kathleen, VVVVVVVV	
Wagman, Thomas E., XXX-XX-XXXX Ward, William F., III, XXX-XX-XXXX	
Weber, Bruce J., XXX-XX-XXX	
Wethington, Terri S., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Williams, Gary R., XXXXXXXXXX	
Willis, Lawrence A., VVV VV VVVV	
Windmueller, Pamela A., xxx-xx-xxxx Wolf, Suzanne, xxx-xx-xxxx	
Wright, Geraldine K., XXXXXXXXX	
Young, Catherine D., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Zak, Darlene J., XXX	
MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS	
Acker, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Adams, Timothy M., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Anderson, Michael C., XXX-XX-XXXX Best, Michael A., XXX-XX-XX	
Beste, Donald E. XXX-XX-	
Beste, Donald E., XXX-XX Black, Michael E., XXX-XX-XXX	
Boone, Charles W., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Bottoms, James W., Jr., XXXXXXXXX	
Boyum, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx Burgess, Alan J., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Butler, Jeffrey L. XXX-XXXX	
Butler, Jeffrey L., XXX-XX-XXXX Carletti, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Carver, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Coleman, Russell L., XXX-XX-XXXX	
Cooper, Jeffrey W. XXX-XXXX	
Cornali, John G., XXX-XX-XXXX Dewberry, James L., XXX-XXXX	
Dudte, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx	
Eurek, Thomas A., xxx,xx,xxx	
Geltz, Robert C., yyy,yy,yyy	
Gressel, Stephen W., xxx-xxxxxx	
Gruendell, Ronald W., XXX-XXXX Harrison, Carlisle, Jr., XXX	
Hay Martin A VOV VV VOOC	

Hay, Martin A., XXX-XX-XXXX Heil, Rivard L., XXX-XX-XXXX

Hilburn, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Jones, Franklin D. R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kemp, Donald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Kirstein, Wade P., xxx-xxxxx
Lee, John A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lee, Robert E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Loper, Clifford M., XXX-XX
Ludwick, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maddox, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxx
Mallonee, Leslie L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Matsuda, Craig S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mayer, Daniel, xxx-xx-xxx
McCusker, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
McGraw, Joseph L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, Gerry W., XXX-XX-X
O'Reilly, Dennis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Patchin, John C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Patterson, Neil G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Peterson, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Poetschke, Edward G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roark, Richard S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Robson, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxx
Silver, Robert D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Stanberry, Garry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Standifer, Tommie R., yyy,yy,yyy
Strange, Joe E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Swartzbaugh, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tipton, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vancleave, Larry B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Virgilio, Benjamin W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vivian, Talbot N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wathen, Thomas A., yyy,yyyy
Watson, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Westergaard, Jon R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wittgan, Larry F., XXX-XX
Province of the second

The following-named officers for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in their active duty grades, under the provisions of sections 531, 532, and 533, title 10, United States Code:

To be major

Bowman, Rodger M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Klann, Eugene A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Ronald S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Whitworth, Jeffrey, XXX-XX-XXXX
To be contain

Whitworth, Jenney, XXX-XX-XXX
To be captain
Aleshunas, John J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Alsdurf, Donald L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Baltazar, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barbosa, Hector J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Barila, Theodore B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bartron, Reed, XXX-XX-XXXX
Beanland, Thomas J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bethea, David W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Bielawski, David J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Binns, Barbara J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Blockett, Terry, XXX-XX-XXXX
Breen, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Brennan, Kevin V., XXX-XX-XXXX
Brown, Wilfred F., II, XXX-XX-XXXX
Browne, Nancy C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Budroe, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Caprano, Rebecca H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Carlson, David E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Clark, James K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Cohen, Richard, XXX-XX-XXXX
Compainrodan, Dari, xxx-xx-xxxx
Cook, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Couch, Anthony B., XXX-XX-XXX
Cross, Lon C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Davis, Michael L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Dickson, Raymond D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Diffenbaugh, Guy L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Doble, Michael F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Eayre, Tomothy E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ellis, Billy R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Farmer, Mark D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Fentress, Wavie W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pinke, Jon E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Flesher, Kenneth M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fox, Timothy F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Frelinger, Robert F., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gainey, Lewis D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gelhardt, Mark D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gessner, William G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gibbs, Robert A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gilbert, Billy M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Goddard, James R., XXX-XX
Gough, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Greenlee, Stephen E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Griffin, Charles A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Grobmeier, John R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Grogan, Edward T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Grotke, Mark L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Gruenbaum, Linda L., XXX-XX-XXXX

Gutknecht, Donald A., XXX-XX-XXXX

Gwiazdzinski, Paul, XXX-XX-XXXX Hall, Terrance W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hall, Terrance W., XXX-XX-XXXX
100000000
Hamm, Gregor M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Harrell, William D., XXX-XX-XXX
Haylie, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hebel, Lenore E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Higher Cherles IV voccessors
Higbee, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx Hillebrand, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hillebrand, David W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hinton, Randy T., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hold, Steven S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Hold, Steven S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Illi, Orlando J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ingram, Sterling P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Irwin, Wyman W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Ivor Iomos A Sr voccococ
Ivey, James A., Sr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Izzo, Paul S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Jackson, Dann R., xxx-xx-xxxx Jones, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Jones Michael I VVV VV VVV
Jolies, Michael J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Kay, Bruce G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Keen, David A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Keen, David A., XXX-XX-XXXX Kell, James D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Esembella Emil I 1000000
Kovalchik, Emil J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Krupco, Walter W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Labadie, Gerard J., xxxxxxxxx
Labadie, Gerard J., XXX-XX-XXXX Lachance, Kevin K., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lactianice, Exevin Es., AAA-AA-AAAA
Lampking, Joe B., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lee, Steven K. XXX-XX-XXXX
Lewis, Henry L., Jr., XXX-XX-XXXX
Lindson Ins.I. 1000000
Lindsey, Joe L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Luz, Jose A., xxx-xx-xxxx
MacGarvey, Scott D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mally, Richard J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Martin, Gary R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Masnick, Matthew G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Maurer, David S., xxx-xx-xxxx
XXX XX
Mayer, Stephen 14., XXX-XXXX
Mayer, Stephen N., XXX-XX-XXXX McIntire, David L., XXX-XX-XXXX
McKenney, Michael A., XXX-XX-XXXX
McKissick, James D., XXX-XX-XXXX
MCIKISHUK, UMINUS DII AAAAAAAA
McMillian, Elouise, XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Meador, Martin R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Miller, Jeffrey G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Misiak William W VVVVVVV
Mishar, William W., AAA-AA-AAAA
Monnett, Michael G., XXX-XX-XXXX
Murley, Myron H., III, XXX-XX-XXXX
Nichols, Steven H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Manne John D. Jr. 10001000
Noone, John B., Jr., xxx-xxxxx
Northrop, Joseph P., XXX-XX-XXXX
Nowak, Henry J., XXX-XX-XXXX
Oviatt, Terry D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Patrick, Richard A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pennington, Patrick., XXX-XX-XXXX
Perritt, Arthur S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Determine Bereini E 1000 10000
Peterman, Randal S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Phelps, Williams G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Phillips, Wiliam N., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pierce, Walter E., II., XXX-XX-XXXX
Pilz, Ronald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Pittenger, Julia M., XXX-XX-XXXX
Prater, Benjamin H., XXX-XX-XXXX
Prater Timothy D YYYYYY
Prater, Timothy D., xxx-xxxxx
Ouinn, Marvin E., XXX-XX-XXX
Prater, Timothy D., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D., XXX-XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D., XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
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Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
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Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Prater, Timothy D. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Thyng, Alan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Thyner, David W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Valentine, Franco L., XXX-XX-XXXX
Walker, Gregory D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wall, Allan W., XXX-XX-XXXX
Waters, William C., XXX-XX-XXXX
Weintraub, Jason S., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wemhoff, Daniel E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Whitner, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilkerson, Timothy, XXX-XX-XXXX
Willett, James A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wilson, Dale E., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wood, Michael R., XXX-XX-XXXX
Wright, James D., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yanichko, Joyce A., XXX-XX-XXXX
Yanichko, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yaross, Daniel B., XXX-XX-XXXX

To be first lieutenant

McMannes, Lester T., XXX-XX-XXX Milburn, Robert L., XXX-XX-XXX Parquette, William, XXX-XX-XXXX Sienkiewicz, Francis, XXX-XX-XXX

To be second lieutenant

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Anthony Cecil Eden Quainton, of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Kuwait.

Robert E. Barbour, of Tennessee, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Suriname.

Brandon Hambright Grove, Jr., of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Pienipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Zaire.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Helen J. Valerio, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for a term expiring May 8, 1987, reappointment.

CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

William Lee Hanley, Jr., of Connecticut, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1987, vice Karl Eller, resigned.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Clifford J. Murino, of Colorado, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for a term expiring May 10, 1990, vice Edwin Ernest Salpeter term expired.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Helen M. Eversberg, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the western district of Texas for the term of 4 years vice Edward C. Prado, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 27, 1984:

THE JUDICIARY

Walter T. Cox III, of South Carolina, to be a judge of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals for a term of 15 years.

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officer for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

Lt Gen. George M. Browning, Jr., XXX-X...
U.S. Air Force.

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10. United States Code, section 601, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by

the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601;

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Casper T. Spangrud, XXX-X... XXX-X..., U.S. Air Force.

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officer for appointment to the grade of general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

Gen. Wilbur L. Creech, XXX-XXXXX U.S. Air Force.

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be reassigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601:

To be general

Gen. Jerome F. O'Malley, XXX-XX-XXXX U.S. Air Force.

IN THE NAVY

The following-named officer, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5148(b), to be assigned as Judge Advocate General of the Navy:

IN THE AIR FORCE

Air Force nominations beginning David E. Ternes, and ending Douglas J. Murray, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 28, 1984.

Air Force nominations beginning Charles E. Cook, and ending Robert N. Rezoski, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 29, 1984.

IN THE ARMY

Army nominations beginning John W. Gaines, and ending Michael S. Gilmer, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 29, 1984.

IN THE NAVY

Navy nominations beginning Robert K. Yoho, and ending Jay R. Shapiro, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on June 29, 1984.